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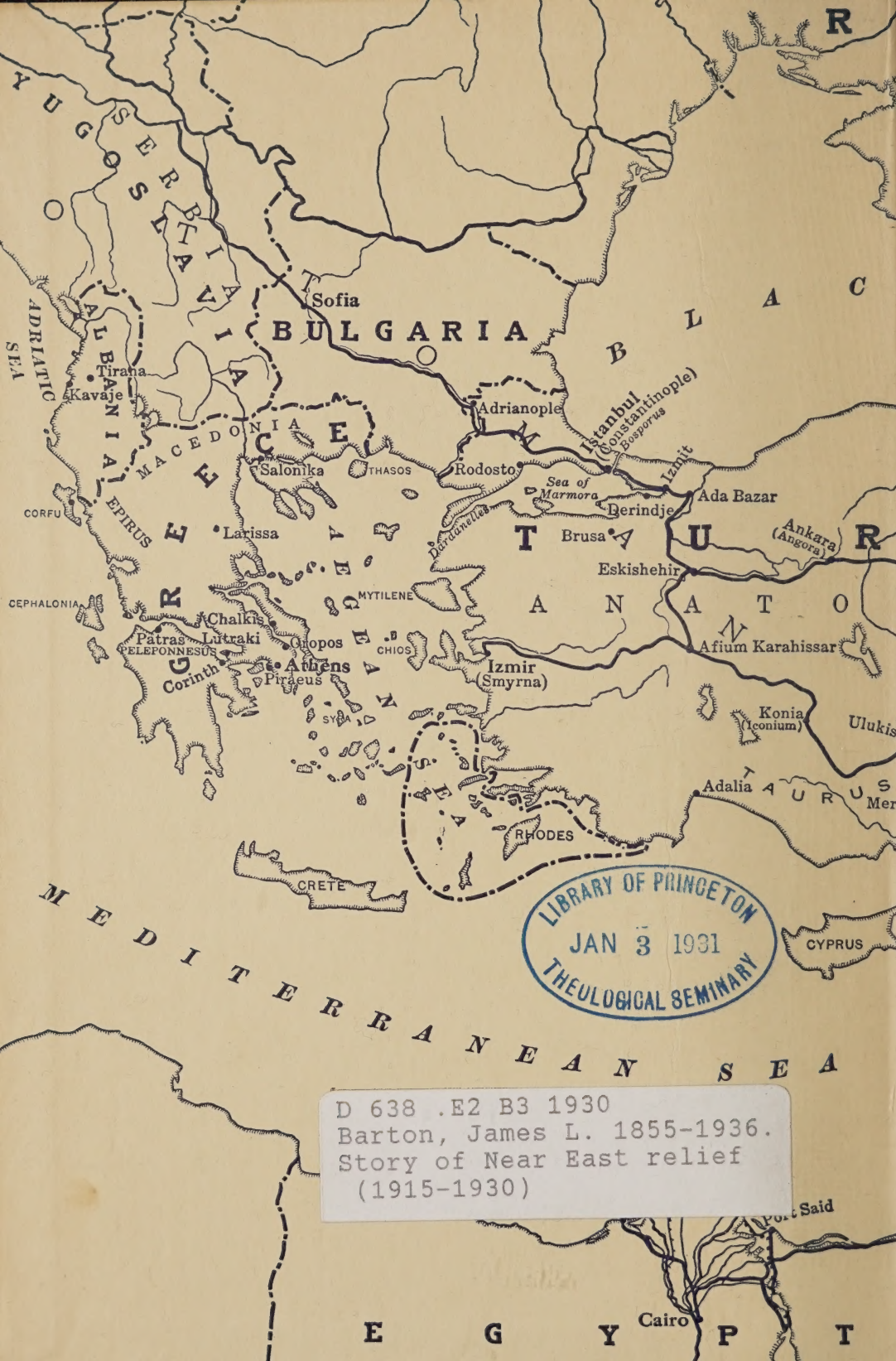

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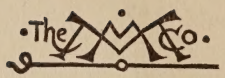

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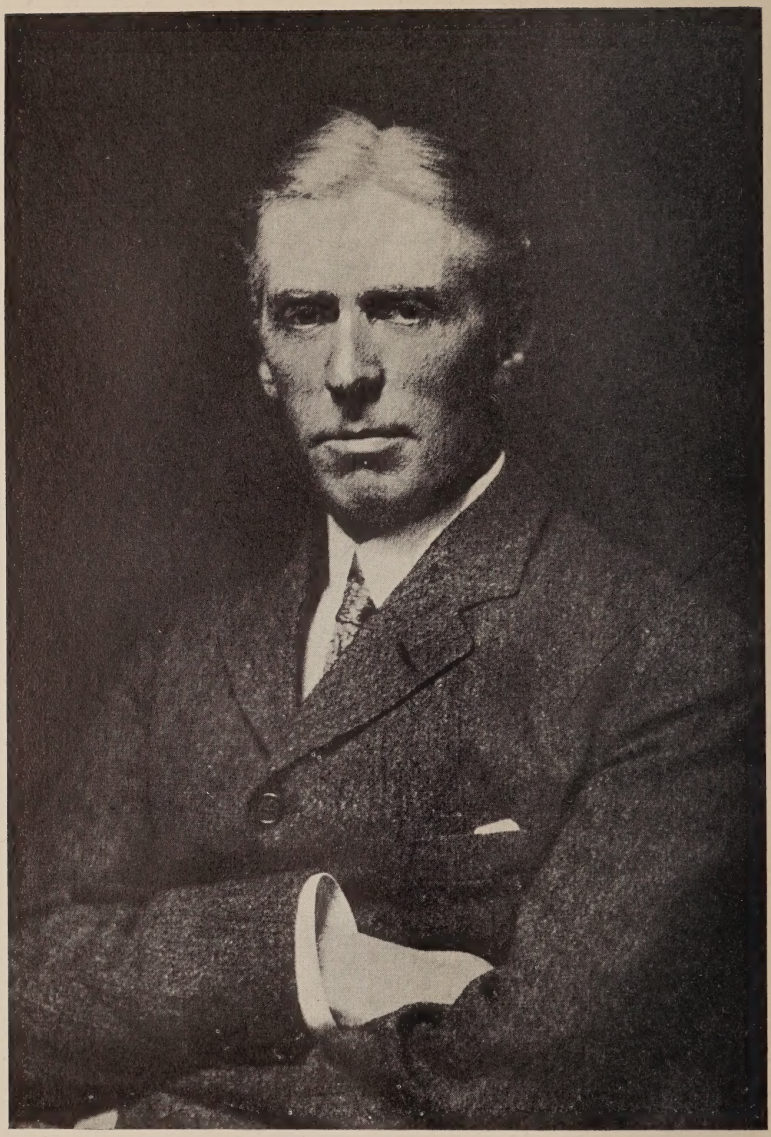

Cleveland H. Dodge, in whose board room the Relief Committee was organized, September 16, 1915. A member of the Executive Committee from the first and Treasurer from July 18, 1917, to his death, June 24, 1926.

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STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF

(1915-1930)

AN INTERPRETATION

BY
JAMES L. BARTON

NEW YORK
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1930

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TO
ALL WHO HAVE SHARED IN THIS
HUMANITARIAN ENTERPRISE

INTRODUCTION

Now that the record of the Near East Relief is nearing completion, I am glad of an opportunity to express my appreciation of its work. In doing this I am using facts and figures furnished to me by the Committee, of which I have little personal knowledge, but which I believe are correct. It has gone on, over a series of years, as one of our great agencies doing a peculiar and most important work, in its own sphere of operations, in a way that has been so successful that its history will continue for generations to be an inspiration to all good works.

On September 16, 1915, a volunteer Committee was formed in New York in response to the call of human distress from the other side of the world. It did not embody a purpose to create a great relief organization, nor did any member of the Committee imagine that service would be long required. With the call for help ringing in their ears, that group of serious men attempted only to make an immediate and effective reply. When later it became evident that the task was to be long, arduous and exacting, they did not falter but bent their backs to the load.

This Committee began with the remote hope of raising $100,000 for relief in Turkey and adjacent countries. All classes of our people, religious bodies of all creeds, fraternal organizations of whatever name and purpose, schools, colleges and individuals, with a single spirit and purpose, joined in supporting the effort. Not only was the goal originally set reached, but over $91,000,000 have been received in the National Office in New York, to which should be added some $25,000,000 in food and supplies provided

by the United States Government and others, and from gifts in kind from railroads and foreign governments.

The volunteer relief committee was, from the beginning, a National organization of the United States, manned by our people and incorporated by a special act of Congress in 1919 as the Near East Relief. It was National because it received its support from all our people and was endorsed by Congress and all our Presidents throughout its history; and, in its widely extended work of life and child saving, it represented the true spirit of our country. It was more than our country, for its benevolence extended to three continents where, irrespective of religion and creed, it clothed the naked, fed the starving and provided shelter, care and practical schooling for more than a hundred and thirty thousand fatherless waifs left as wreckage from the Great War. While the war was waging in Europe and Western Asia, and the contending nations were using every known engine of destruction against each other, this organization was salvaging men, women and children, not of its own race, and doing everything in its power to heal the wounds which were the indirect results of the conflict.

This service to humanity has involved great sacrifice beyond the vast sums contributed by a willing people. Thirty American relief workers have laid down their lives in this service to mankind and their bodies lie in the soil of the land and amid the peoples whom their efforts and sacrifice have saved.

No private enterprise ever undertaken by Americans and in the name of America has accomplished more to arouse, in the minds and hearts of all the peoples of the countries in which this organization has carried on its operations, a sincere regard and even affection for America. They have seen in this service a demonstration of a practical consciousness of brotherhood and good will toward all peoples. Those who dwell in the Near East have been impressed, through

the work of this Committee, with what they regard as the true spirit of our people. They have not been able to detect in its years of service any ulterior motive, taint of politics, territorial ambitions, bid for spheres of influence, or sectarian propaganda. They can see embodied in the fifteen years of disinterested operations, the sincere desire and purpose to render help to peoples in extreme need, and to give it without expectation or even the possibility of return in anything except the expressions of gratitude from those helped and the consciousness of having responded to a call to duty.

In all the countries around the Eastern Mediterranean and along the shores of the Black Sea, the names "American Near East Relief" and "American Committee" are held in affectionate regard. Whoever journeys there under these names is recognized as a friend. To the millions of peoples in all those countries our country was the Good Samaritan that did not pass them by but bound up their wounds and poured into their troubled lives the consoling oil of sympathy and healing.

Not only has life been saved, but economic, social, intellectual and moral forces have been released. New methods in child welfare, in public health and in practical education have been introduced. A new sense of the value of the child, a new conception of religion in action and a new hope for a better social order have been aroused. All this has brought enduring results, a promise of a brighter future to replace the despair of years of fear and hopelessness.

The work of the Committee has demonstrated practical Christianity without sectarianism, and without ecclesiastical form, recognizing the rights of each and all to their ancestral faith, while expressing religion in terms of sacrifice and service that others might live and be benefited. Its creed was the Golden Rule and its ritual the devotion of life and treasure to the healing of wounds caused by war.

The Near East Relief, soon after its formation, combined the Persian and Syrian relief committees and gradually united other relief organizations formed for the same purpose and working in the same general areas. It also entered into co-operative working relations with the American Red Cross. From the first, there has been no rivalry or competition, either in the solicitation of funds or in administering relief overseas.

The Committee has had an unbroken record of effective and economic administration at home and abroad, in carrying through a vast system of child care and practical training over a protracted period of years, unprecedented in this or any other country.

The story of the formation of the organization, of the life-giving relief operations affecting not less than a million and a half wandering, scattered refugees, most of them children and women, and of the training of more than a hundred and thirty thousand waifs for constructive service and good citizenship in their own countries and among their own people, is told here by those who have been personally involved in the work from the beginning. It is a story of philanthropic achievement which may well be a satisfaction to all our people.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

FOREWORD

THE story of Near East Relief is an interpretation of fifteen years of unbroken service to the peoples of the Near East. Beginning during the turmoil of the World War, it continued into the reconstruction period. Commencing with an effort to raise $100,000, it has collected and administered $116,000,000. Organized in response to the needs of hungry, diseased and naked refugees, it has built its enduring memorial in the lives of countless orphan children. It is the story of the ideals of America translated into disinterested service. Lands rich in history and religious tradition, in their distress aroused our sympathy, and the warm heart of our country generously responded.

This is a narrative of American philanthropy. In all the stories of the Great War we doubt if there is one more tragic, more colorful, more heroic. The effort to heal and comfort actual millions of desperate people, and to rescue, feed and train 132,000 orphan children has revived hope and inspired new ideals in two generations, in eleven countries, on three continents.

This record is not an apology for mistakes nor a boasting of successes, it is a simple narrative of a serious undertaking in international relief work. Activities were carried on under the most extraordinary and trying circumstances. The best counsel available was consulted and personnel were chosen with care. The work at any given time represented the honest judgments and efforts of the men and women who were directly responsible. The historical critic is privileged to review events in retrospect. The adminis-

trators of emergency relief funds are forced to anticipate the future and must act immediately.

The men who organized the first Committee thought only of the appalling relief needs. Money was raised for suffering humanity and expended accordingly. The rapid political, economic and social changes overseas were met by an equally flexible administration as the emphasis gradually shifted from emergency to reconstruction programs.

The organization maintained a policy of strict neutrality and the distribution of its beneficences was according to needs, irrespective of race or creed. It continued to operate through the most radical political upheavals. Tragic events within the old Ottoman Empire called the Committee into being but it remained on to serve a new Turkey. Russian imperial autocracy crumbled, passed away; new economic order appeared and the organization worked with both. The forced migration of peoples from Asia to Europe gave rise to a new democracy in Greece and an economic rebirth of the country. New social forces leavened nations; economic rehabilitation strengthened old peoples: America, through the relief agency, was in the midst of all these events.

The story is told in a series of chapters arranged with a measure of chronological sequence, more or less complete in themselves; each chapter portrays some distinctive phase of the work or reports local conditions, and may be read independently of the whole. This arrangement has necessitated slight repetitions of fundamental policies and connecting data.

No apologies are offered for the relatively large space given to the children, to their education, their adjustment into economic self-support and to their future. It was the challenge of this mass of detached and unclaimed child life that prompted the Committee to prolong its activities after peace had come to the Near East in 1923. It was the appeal

of the child which gripped the hearts of contributing friends and held them until the task was finished. It is through childhood growing into manhood and womanhood that America has chiefly influenced the changing Near East. It is to these graduates, "ex-orphans" as they call themselves, that this book points and says to the hundreds of thousands of friends and supporters of the work: "In these is the report of our stewardship."

In completing the emergency task the organization is leaving the door open for America to participate in the social, economic and moral reconstruction of the Near East. As old customs and traditions are broken the East turns toward the West for new ideas and encouragement. America, because its motives are known to be non-political, because it has laid a foundation of good will through many years, is in a unique position to continue to render constructive assistance.

By official votes, the Trustees have repeatedly recognized the invaluable services of the government and its representatives. President Wilson and his associates, during the difficult period of the war, co-operated to the uttermost. Overseas, the entire diplomatic corps in the Near East—ambassadors, ministers, consuls, members of the secretariate—carried a generous share of the responsibilities for the actual administration of the relief funds. Following the Armistice, the departments of state, navy and war, rendered invaluable assistance. President Harding was sympathetically interested. President Coolidge used his good offices to encourage the relief work at home and overseas, and has made an especially appreciated contribution to this story by writing the introduction. President Hoover has been a member of the Committee and as director of European relief following the Armistice, generously co-operated, especially in the Caucasus. Congress has maintained a helpful attitude. The granting of a special Congressional Charter and

authorizing the contribution of certain war supplies for relief purposes are the measure of that interest. Official representatives of the government at home and overseas have always been helpful to representatives of the Committee.

The Board of Trustees have recorded this story of service for the benefit of those who have participated actively in the work as contributors, workers or friends and for those interested in the education of children for constructive living. A brief supplementary chapter will remain unwritten, covering the closing years of the Committee's operations, and the completion of the emergency responsibilities at home and overseas.

It has been impossible in a single volume to mention by name or adequately characterize the work of all those who have rendered conspicuous service during these years. To the hundreds of thousands of contributing friends who have made this record of work possible; to the co-operating agencies, organizations and the press, who have given unstinted assistance; to the devoted workers at home and overseas, some of whom have made the last great sacrifice, the Board of Trustees of Near East Relief pay high tribute. To this must be added the undying gratitude and appreciation of those who survived the tragedy and of the children now growing into citizenship in a new Near East.

The members of the official staff of the organization have rendered constant and helpful assistance. Special acknowledgment is here made to Harold C. Jaquith for his effective co-operation in the preparation of this history. Because of his long experience as director overseas and as an administrator in the National office he was able to furnish and coordinate much necessary data. Mr. Jaquith prepared the chapters on child care and training, on the post-orphanage

program, "From 1919 to Smyrna Evacuation," "Greece," and material for other chapters. His editorial assistance has been prolonged and invaluable. The manuscript has been edited and published under his direction.

J. L. B.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION—by Calvin Coolidge vii
FOREWORD xi

PART ONE

BAFFLING CONDITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST

CHAPTER

I. HOW AND WHY IT BEGAN 3
II. CONDITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST 20
III. TRAGEDY 38

PART TWO

RESPONDING TO THE CALL AND NEED DURING THE WORLD WAR

IV. SCENES OF THE DRAMA 51
V. TURKEY 58
VI. SYRIA 70
VII. CAUCASUS 79
VIII. PERSIA 89

PART THREE

CHANGES FOLLOWING THE ARMISTICE

IX. CHANGED CONDITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST AND THE 1919 RELIEF COMMISSION 107
X. THE CAUCASUS FOLLOWING THE ARMISTICE . . . 120
XI. FROM 1919 TO SMYRNA EVACUATION 138
XII. GREECE 161

PART FOUR
GENERAL RELIEF

CHAPTER		PAGE
XIII.	Relief through Giving Work	175
XIV.	Health and Sanitation	188

PART FIVE
CHILD CARE AND TRAINING

XV.	Responsibility for Children Accepted	207
XVI.	Education	227
XVII.	Vocational Education	239
XVIII.	Character Building	267

PART SIX
GRADUATING CHILDREN INTO LIFE

XIX.	From Orphanage to Independence	267
XX.	Post-Orphanage Program	280
XXI.	Orphan Achievement	300

PART SEVEN
PERSONNEL AND PERMANENT VALUES

XXII.	Personnel	323
XXIII.	Permanent Values	340
XXIV.	Looking to the Future	361

PART EIGHT
HOME SUPPORT AND CO-OPERATION

XXV.	Expansion at Home	369
XXVI.	Letting the Public Know	381
XXVII.	Financial	399
XXVIII.	The Conservation Program	416

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

PAGE

1. Introduction—John Finley, Vice-Chairman, Board of Trustees 429
2. Incorporation with Charter and By-Laws 431
3. Audited Statement 438
4. From the Press 440
5. Overseas Personnel 443
6. State Committees and Sponsors 456
7. National Speakers 471
8. Staff Personnel 473
9. Tribute of Greece to America 476

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cleveland H. Dodge	*Frontispiece*
	Facing page
Executive Committee, 1916	8
Amid the ruins of an ancient civilization	9
Groups of human wreckage	22
Salvaged childhood	23
Missionary buildings loaned the Committee	34
School and hospital used for orphans	35
Hazards of travel	46
Without roads or bridges	47
After a year of care	54
Only an enfeebled grandmother to keep the home	55
Refugees	66
Mt. Ararat	67
Armenian refugees en route to nowhere	84
With nothing in the world but the rags on their backs	85
A refugee child of Persia	94
From Nowhere to Nothing. A Persian family returns home	95
Repairing the damages of war	100
Persian relief stations	101
1919 Commission	112
Into Turkey after the war, via the Baghdad Railway	113
The "Orphan City"	124
Waiting in the snow	125
Double deckers and four in a bed	134
Inside and outside the "Orphan City" gates	135
Sunday in the "Orphan City"	142
The Catholics and the Armenian Cathedral at Etchmiadzin	143
The "great trek." Exodus of children from Turkey	152
Smyrna after the fire	153
Orphan children on an American destroyer	158
Refugees leaving Smyrna	159

	Facing page
Orphans and refugees amid the glories of ancient Greece	170
Greece receives 1,400,000 refugees	171
New scenes at the Opera and new homes for children	184
Return of Greek prisoners and exchange of populations	185
Relief through work	196
The nimble fingers of refugee women	197
Distribution of old clothing	210
Shabby but useful	211
Selimieh Barracks, Constantinople	224
Typhus costumes and trachoma treatment	225
Tuberculosis preventorium	236
Disease prevention	237
The home versus the orphanage	248
Potential citizens	249
Fed and underfed	262
Discipline and order	263
From classroom to playground	276
Making character and making clothes	277
Home-makers in the making	290
Vocational training for girls	291
Trade training for boys	304
Agricultural training for boys	305
Play and worship	318
Tenderness and affection	319
From orphanage to self-support	332
"Ex-orphans"	333
Good comes to the village	348
Orphan achievement	349
President Coolidge presented with an orphan-made rug	362
International goodwill	363
No place too good for children	388
Settlement of the refugees	389

PART ONE
BAFFLING CONDITIONS

CHAPTER I

HOW AND WHY IT BEGAN

For more than a year the Great War had absorbed the attention of the world. The laws of war dominated the means of communication and largely directed the lives of the people of Europe and Western Asia. All areas within the zones of actual conflict were treated as battlefields so far as freedom of individual action was concerned. Turkey came within this group and was walled about with censorship barriers so closely drawn and so carefully protected that the West knew little of what was taking place there.

That Turkey was involved in the war on the side of the Central Powers comprised the chief item of information possessed in America. What was taking place behind that closely guarded military barrier was only a matter of conjecture. There was, however, anxious thought among thousands of people in this country for the more than five hundred American citizens and a score or more of American institutions which were behind that wall of seclusion. These institutions were of long standing, incorporated under American laws with boards of control in this country, and represented a generation of interest and sacrifice. American men and women were located in all the larger centers of population in Turkey and Persia, extending from Constantinople to Teheran and from the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains to Arabia.

There was also widespread anxiety for the non-Moslem people in Turkey. It was well known that in the past, at times of social and political upheaval, they had suffered

severely. While little positive information had come out of Turkey during the spring and summer of 1915, many of the letters which got past the exacting censor contained cryptic expressions that gave cause for solicitude.

Early in September, 1915, a cable came to the Department of State at Washington from the American Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, at Constantinople, urging the formation of a committee to raise funds and provide ways and means for saving some of the Armenians, adding "The destruction of the Armenian race in Turkey is rapidly progressing."

This message was transmitted to James L. Barton, Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in Boston, who wrote on September 14 to Cleveland H. Dodge in New York:

> I have just sent you a telegram: "I am convinced that an early and comprehensive conference should be convened in your office for the consideration of Armenian matters. You are nominated convenor." There is no doubt that a meeting should be called and there is no better place than your office. The situation is certainly critical. The Armenians have no one to speak for them and it is without question a time when the voice of Christianity should be raised.

Both Mr. Dodge and Mr. Barton sent out calls for a meeting in Mr. Dodge's office on September 16. The group of prominent people who assembled that morning had no idea that the formation of a temporary relief committee would have any historical significance. This is evident from the fact that no detailed minutes of the meeting were preserved. Practically the same group of people had gathered in the same office only a short time prior to this meeting to consider the status of Americans and American institutions in Turkey should the United States suddenly be forced to declare war or break diplomatic relations. The German Ambassador had informed the American Ambassador that, in

case of hostilities between Germany and the United States, every American institution in Turkey would be seized at once. Already some of the missionaries of the American Board had been expelled from the country and other Americans anticipated a similar order. The situation was difficult. If all missionaries and teachers and heads of institutions withdrew, the Christian population would be without help and completely at the mercy of a hostile government. If they stayed in Turkey, and Germany and the United States broke diplomatic relations, their lives would be endangered. The Americans chose to remain and they were loyally supported by their Trustees at home.

The group which met on September 16 gave careful consideration to Ambassador Morgenthau's emergency cable and concluded to organize a committee for the purpose of raising funds to send to the Ambassador in Constantinople for relief purposes. Charles R. Crane was chosen treasurer, Samuel T. Dutton, secretary, and James L. Barton, chairman. The personnel of the Relief Committee included those who were at the first meeting and those who were early invited to share in the growing responsibilities of the organization. They represented the administrative boards of American institutions and missionary organizations in the Near East. Some had lived overseas and were familiar with local conditions. Others were closely affiliated with governmental and international agencies. The group was not a chance assembly of disinterested men. It was a careful selection of those who knew and fully understood conditions in the Near East and gave assurance that any action would be based upon a solid foundation of fact and need. Since the operations of this emergency committee became extended in time and expanded until it reached practically all the so-called Near East countries and involved the expenditure of vast sums of money, it is fitting to enlarge briefly upon the membership of the original organization,

known first as the Armenian Relief Committee, then as the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee, later as the American Committee for Relief in the Near East and incorporated by act of Congress as the Near East Relief.

Cleveland H. Dodge, in whose office the meeting of the first group was called, was the personal friend of President Woodrow Wilson, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Robert College, the oldest American College in the Near East at Constantinople, and a long time friend of benevolent and missionary organizations working in the Near East. Charles R. Crane, also a business man and a friend of President Wilson was President of the Board of Trustees of the Constantinople College for Women and an extensive traveler in the Near East. Samuel T. Dutton, a professor in Teachers' College of Columbia University, was Treasurer of the Constantinople College for Women, Secretary of the World Peace Foundation and a member, in 1913, of a Balkan Commission. D. Stuart Dodge was a member of the Board of Trustees of the American University in Beirut, Syria. Stanley White, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions in New York, officially in charge of the operations of that Board in Persia and Syria, had personally visited those countries. William I. Chamberlain, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, was directing work in Arabia. Samuel Harper was starting upon a mission to Russia. Frank Mason North was Secretary of the Methodist Board of Missions with a wide experience in dealing with Eastern peoples and conditions. Thomas D. Christie, President of St. Paul's Institute, an American College at Tarsus, was a veteran missionary recently arrived from Turkey. William I. Haven, Secretary of the American Bible Society, dealt through its representatives with all the countries in the Near East. Charles S. MacFarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, represented the Protestant churches of the United States.

Arthur Curtiss James, a well known business man, was a member of the Board of Trustees of the American University at Beirut. Edward Lincoln Smith was a secretary of the American Board of Missions, which had carried on work in Turkey for more than a century and had established in that country several colleges. Edwin M. Bulkley, a business man, was a member of the Presbyterian Board of Missions and Treasurer of the Persian Relief Committee which had been engaged for several months in raising and transmitting funds for relief in Persia. John R. Mott represented the activities and interest of the Y. M. C. A. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was Chairman of a Jewish Emergency Relief Commission. George A. Plimpton, publisher, was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Constantinople College for Women. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Missions, had been for years a resident in Turkey and was a member of the Board of Trustees of several American colleges in that country.

Within two months the membership of the Committee had been increased by additions from the various relief committees which early united with the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee, as its name was then called: Arthur J. Brown, John B. Calvert, John D. Crimmins, Charles W. Eliot, William T. Ellis, James Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop David H. Greer, Norman Hapgood, Maurice H. Harris, Hamilton Holt, Frederick Lynch, H. Pereira Mendes, John Moffat, Harry V. Osborne, Bishop P. Rhinelander, Karl Davis Robinson, William W. Rockwell, George T. Scott, Isaac N. Seligman, William Sloane, Oscar S. Straus and Talcott Williams.

It was with the co-operation and backing of these men that the Committee began and continued to function in raising and transmitting funds to meet the emergencies in the Near East. They represented large and varied interests, contributed liberally to the cause, gave unsparingly of their

time in attendance at meetings and aided various co-operative and promotional operations. They commanded the confidence of the public.

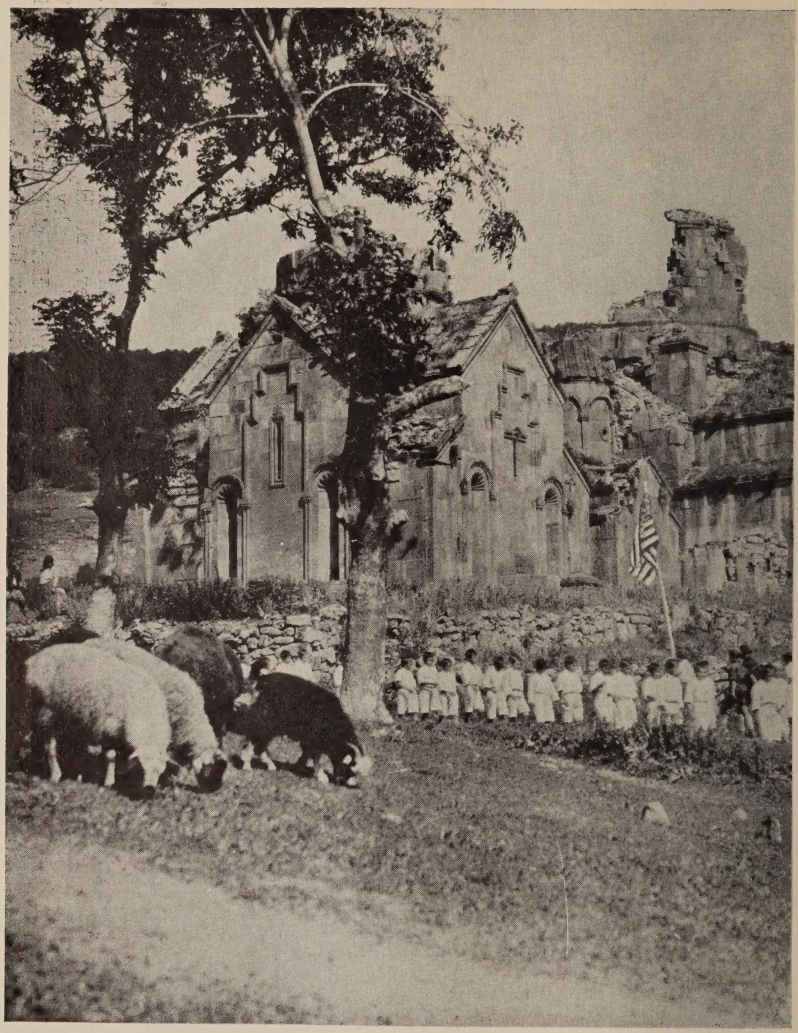
The Committee membership represented the major American educational, religious and philanthropic activities in Persia, Armenia, Syria, Turkey and Arabia. They were in a large measure officially responsible for the American work in those war-swept areas. These men had representatives under their own appointment and direction in more than fifty different centers, including Constantinople, Smyrna, Marsovan, Sivas, Cæsarea, Konia, Brusa, Marash, Adana, Tarsus, Mersina, Aintab, Diarbekr, Mardin, Urfa, Kharput, Erzerum, Trebizond, Bitlis, Van, Tabriz, Urmia, Teheran, Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus. In some of these places Americans had worked for nearly a century.[1]

The State Department at Washington gave assurance that everything possible would be done to safeguard American property and life but no information was available as to the actual conditions at interior points. It became increasingly evident to the group which first assembled on the sixteenth of September that the situation throughout the Near East was serious, not so much for Americans and American interests as for the non-Moslem populations.

After the organization had been completed, and the Secretary's office at 70 Fifth Avenue had been designated as headquarters, the question was raised by the Chairman as to the amount of money the Committee should undertake to raise. Various opinions were expressed. The largest sum mentioned was $100,000. There were some who felt that such a large amount was wholly outside the range of possibility. The Chairman, however, maintained that the distress was so widespread and devastating that the Committee

[1] American interests in the Near East, measured by the money invested in missionary institutions and in American schools, hospitals and colleges, together with what had been paid for the upkeep and support of the work carried on, would amount to more than forty million dollars.

Executive Committee taken upon the return to this country of Ambassador Morgenthau and William W. Peet from Constantinople in January, 1916. Left front: Henry Morgenthau, Cleveland H. Dodge, James L. Barton, Samuel T. Dutton; left standing: Alexander J. Hemphill, Harold A. Hatch. Stanley White, William W. Peet, Edwin M. Bulkley, Charles V. Vickrey. Three of these men, Messrs. Dutton, Hemphill and Dodge, died in the service of the Committee. Five were members of the Executive Committee in 1930.



Amid the ruins of an ancient civilization, child derelicts of war and deportation were given new life under the protection of the American flag.

could not discharge its responsibility with a smaller sum. After considerable discussion a vote was taken authorizing the raising of this amount. The officers were also empowered to forward the money as called for by the Ambassador at Constantinople, thus eliminating the delay of other meetings.

It is an interesting fact and a convincing demonstration of the earnestness of the men who formed the Committee that, after this vote was taken, but before the company separated, more than one-half of the large sum set as the ultimate goal had been subscribed. It was also voted that the Treasurer and Chairman should go to Washington and secure all the information possible from the State Department files regarding the situation in the Near East, both as related to the native populations as well as to the Americans and American institutions. Assurance had been received from the Department that whatever information it possessed would be put at the service of the Committee.

Another event occurred at this meeting which may well be recorded. After the organization had been completed and the goal of $100,000 had been set, Mr. Dodge leaned over to Dr. Dutton, the newly elected Secretary, and in low tones, unheard by others, said in substance:

> You will need to secure an additional room, a secretary and stenographer and some office furniture. You will also have expenses for printing, stationery and postage. I urge you to secure this added room, secretary and furnishing at once, but under no circumstances are you to permit any expense of the Committee or the office to be charged to the funds collected. Send every bill to me personally.

Those closest to the organization know that for some time Mr. Dodge met all the expenses of the office and for years made generous monthly contributions for this purpose, as well as giving to the general fund.

In accordance with the vote, the Chairman and the Treas-

urer proceeded to Washington and formed connections with the Department of State. The entire files of the Department were placed at their disposal. They were given permission to read and use any and all dispatches and documents bearing upon the religious, social and physical conditions in the disturbed areas. The situation, as revealed by some of these official messages, far surpassed anything that had been imagined, so far as they revealed conditions among the native non-Moslem populations in Turkey. Americans and their institutions were not in immediate danger. Armenians all over the country appeared to be the special objects of Turkish suspicion. This was accompanied by a manifest concerted effort to move the entire Armenian race into other areas, mostly toward the south and east. It was learned that Armenians from the eastern part of Turkey, alarmed by the hostile attitude of the Constantinople government, were in exodus by the tens of thousands into Russia, and that vast populations from northern Persia were trekking in the same direction. It was also learned that there was an assemblage of more than two hundred thousand Armenians, Assyrians and Nestorians in abject destitution in the Russian Caucasus, under a friendly government and accessible for relief purposes. Authenticated reports in detail from widely separated districts showed vast populations from all parts of the Turkish Empire moving down toward Arabia. A dispatch from Constantinople reported that the large Armenian population from Bardizag had been deported, also that generally throughout all the regions of Ada Bazar, Konia, Marsovan, Sivas, Kharput, Diarbekr and some parts of Cilicia, the Armenians had been sent away from their homes.

A dispatch from an American official, written in early September, 1915, after a personal inspection, was in part:

> All personal property which [the refugees] could not take with them had to be left behind. . . . I realized, of course, that

I was powerless, even unofficially, to interfere with these proceedings. . . . Unless the whole movement be stopped at once there is, I am firmly convinced, not the slightest chance of any of the exiles surviving this coming winter, except possibly the very wealthiest among them, nor do the authorities make any secret of the fact that their main object is the extermination of the whole Armenian race. The Vali admitted quite frankly:

"We are determined to get rid, once and for all, of this cancer in our country. It has been our greatest political danger, only we never realized it as much as we do now. It is true that many innocent are suffering with the guilty but we have no time to make any distinction. We know it means an economic loss to us, but it is nothing compared with the danger we are hereby escaping."

Without commenting upon the truth or falsity of these remarks, the fact remains that the Turks are rapidly depleting the country of some of the thriftiest, most intelligent and, in many respects, the most valuable element of their population. One has only to walk through the streets of any town in the interior to realize how this deportation has wrought havoc with the life of the community. Nearly all doctors, dentists, tailors and carpenters are gone, in short, every profession or trade requiring the least skill has been stopped, not to mention the complete stagnation of all business of any consequence.

At the same time there came into the hands of the Committee documents written by Sisters Rohner and Paula Schaffer, who had been located in the city of Marash in Cilicia and engaged in medical work under a German committee. They were greatly concerned about the deportations and wrote a letter of protest to the German Ambassador at Constantinople, setting forth the terrible condition of the deportees and urging that the Ambassador induce the Turkish government to modify its policy. They followed the chain of deportees southward across Cilicia and into northern Arabia. They told in detail of the situation in which they found vast numbers of these unfortunate people, the majority of whom were women and children. The German Sisters' personal investigations were made in the early

summer but the information reached the outside world only in October.

The Committee had also in its possession copy of a communication written by an American missionary located in Mersina and addressed to the German authorities with reference to the situation in that area in the summer of 1915:

> I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the stream of deported Armenians from the north continues unabated. Recent arrivals were in a terribly wretched condition and their sufferings from insufficient food and raiment are indescribable.

Dispatches and reports like the above were in the hands of the newly formed Relief Committee in early October, 1915. Only a few quotations are made here; others covering this and later periods will be found in Chapter III. At this time there was sufficient evidence to convince the Committee that the majority of the Armenian population in Turkey were either on the move from their ancestral homes or were destined to be uprooted and sent into exile.

The revelations of the first ten weeks of accumulated reports presented a staggering challenge to the men who had thought of the relief organization as temporary. Races were in danger of annihilation and women and children by the hundreds of thousands were face to face with death through exposure to the elements and lack of food. It was possible to reach large groups of survivors with needed help, if adequate funds were secured. There was no other agency ready to act with the necessary energy and speed. The Relief Committee did not hesitate, but unanimously agreed to assume the enlarging responsibility.

A large amount of factual material was given to the public. These were the first authenticated reports that had come out of Turkey. They were widely featured in the American press. No longer did the sum set as the original

goal seem exorbitant. It was evident that additional amounts would have to be raised if America was to make any appreciable impression upon the widespread and indescribable disasters that extended across Turkey and Persia. It became apparent that a task had been undertaken which far exceeded anything contemplated at the time of organization. Frequent meetings of the Committee were necessary and a smaller body was appointed, called "The Ways and Means Committee," [1] and given executive power to act for the larger committee.

Before the new organization became constructively active, the Committee of Mercy offered its services toward the raising of funds.[2] This committee had a mailing list of several thousand people who were known to be contributors to works of benevolence, which they were ready to put at the service of the newly formed Armenian Relief Committee. They also offered to co-operate in sending out appeals to this list.

In December, 1914, a Palestine-Syrian Relief Committee [3] had been formed to secure funds to help the general famine and distress conditions among the civilian population of Syria. This Committee had operated during the winter and spring of 1915 and had collected a considerable sum of money which had been forwarded to Palestine and Syria for general relief purposes.

Early in the year 1915, following the devastating Turkish-Kurdish invasion of Persia, a Persian Relief Committee had

[1] Samuel T. Dutton, Chairman; James L. Barton, Charles R. Crane, Cleveland H. Dodge, Frederick Lynch, Karl Davis Robinson, James M. Speers, Stanley White, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

[2] The officers of the Committee of Mercy were: Honorary President, Elihu Root; Vice Presidents, Ex-President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University; Mayor Mitchell of New York; Miss Katherine B. Davis of New York; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman; Treasurer, August Belmont; Executive Secretary, Karl Davis Robinson.

[3] The officers of this Committee were: Chairman, Talcott Williams; Vice Chairman, Oscar S. Straus; Chairman of the Executive Committee, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Secretary and Treasurer, Stanley White.

been organized.[1] By October $70,000 had been collected and transmitted to alleviate the suffering of the refugees.

Members of these other relief committees responded favorably to the proposition of a united effort, since the common purpose was a ministry of helpfulness to the distressed peoples in the same general areas. Moreover, the same people were interested in the administration and activities of the three committees.

In November, 1915, the Armenian Relief Committee[2] became the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, including and covering the areas represented by the three unified groups. The officers of the new enlarged Committee remained the same as those of the original Armenian Relief Committee, and with the office retained at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

As soon as the immensity of the need became evident, plans for calling the attention of the public to the urgency of the situation were presented to the Committee. After much discussion it was voted not to use relief funds for paid advertising purposes, but to trust to the loyal and spontaneous support of the press. Melville Stone of the Associated Press was a constant counselor. From the day the first official dispatches setting forth the need of help were released, the press of the entire country has been sympathetic, helpful and liberal to the last degree. Without its unanimous support the work of relief never could have been

[1] The members of the Persian Relief Committee were: Chairman, Robert E. Speer; Edwin M. Bulkley, Treasurer; William B. Millar, Secretary; Thomas W. Anderson; John B. Calvert; William B. Crane; Frank M. Goodchild; C. L. Goodell; Col. E. W. Halford; Henry W. Jessup; David C. Lake; J. E. Leaycraft; and W. A. Shaw. The depositary was Spencer Trask & Company.

[2] The Armenians present at some of the earlier meetings gave valuable information about the situation and need in Turkey, obtained by them through independent sources. It was decided, however, that as they were the people chiefly involved, they should not be made members of the Committee, which should be an all-American body, non-political and absolutely neutral.

carried through. The Committee and the people who have received help are indebted beyond words to its generous and unfailing support.

Facts of conditions in the Near East were released as rapidly as they were obtained and verified. The Committee was recognized soon as the chief source of information regarding economic and social conditions in Turkey and the Near East. Contacts were made as far as possible with the editorial staff of the leading journals of the country, and special material for editorial purposes regarding the countries, peoples and conditions was furnished to them. A small booklet was prepared by the Committee upon these subjects, under the editorial supervision of Prof. William W. Rockwell of Union Theological Seminary, and placed in the hands of the editors.

Articles for weekly papers and magazines were prepared and widely used. These served to enlighten the general public upon subjects bearing upon the Near East peoples and conditions, and provided a substantial background for the items which appeared in the daily papers. These articles were written by persons who were recognized as able to speak with knowledge and authority.

Letters were addressed to possible individual contributors, in which the general emergency needs were set forth, supplemented with the latest information from overseas and signed frequently by two or more officers and members of the Committee.

On the initiative of three members of the Committee, Dr. McFarland of the Federal Council of Churches, Rabbi Wise and Cardinal Gibbons, a letter of appeal was addressed to the Protestant pastors, the Jewish rabbis and the Catholic clergy. From this early interest the churches and religious bodies became strong supporters.

For purposes of cultivation, and in order to bring the enlarging need for relief more directly to various com-

munities, steps were taken early to organize local volunteer committees in different important centers throughout the country. The response to this plan was beyond expectations. Within nine months of the formation of the central committee there were thirty-eight local committees in sixteen different states, with a chairman and secretary and a local depository for funds, generally an outstanding bank of the community.

The increasing work involved in organizing local committees throughout the country and the enlarged volume of correspondence made an assistant to Dr. Dutton imperative. Walter S. Mallory was appointed Field Secretary and Assistant to the Secretary.[1]

Mass meetings were held in various parts of the country. The story was told from platform and pulpit by speakers who knew the Near East, by volunteers from the National Committee, by members of the local committees, and by

[1] The organization of the personnel of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief with headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, was completed in November, 1915, as follows:

JAMES L. BARTON, *Chairman* — SAMUEL T. DUTTON, *Secretary* — CHARLES R. CRANE, *Treasurer*

WALTER H. MALLORY, *Field Secretary*

Arthur J. Brown
Edwin M. Bulkley
John B. Calvert
John D. Crimmins
Cleveland H. Dodge
Charles W. Eliot
William T. Ellis
James, Cardinal Gibbons
Rt. Rev. David H. Greer
Norman Hapgood
Maurice H. Harris
William I. Haven
Hamilton Holt
Arthur Curtiss James
Frederick Lynch
Charles S. MacFarland
H. Pereira Mendes
John Moffat
John R. Mott
Frank Mason North
Harry V. Osborne
George A. Plimpton
Rt. Rev. P. Rhinelander
Karl Davis Robinson
William W. Rockwell
George T. Scott
Isaac N. Seligman
William Sloane
Edward Lincoln Smith
James M. Speers
Oscar M. Straus
Stanley White
Talcott Williams
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

local speakers. These mass meetings raised considerable sums, fixed attention on the situation and were fully reported in the local press. They strengthened the other methods of appeal.

In all of the affected territory there were American consuls and diplomats, doctors, educators and missionaries, and thousands of local graduates of American schools and colleges. Except in the Russian Caucasus, there was no important center of distress and need where some of these trained, experienced and trusted men and women were not located, ready and able to render aid. They remained at their posts at tremendous personal sacrifice, often in personal danger, and served without compensation. The Medical Department of the University at Beirut had trained hundreds of doctors for service in Turkey. There had been nurses' training schools at Marsovan, Konia, Adana, Aintab and Teheran. There were American hospitals at Sivas, Cæsarea, Kharput, Van, Aintab, Adana, Mardin, Konia, Marsovan and Teheran, in charge of American doctors and a competent staff. In many other centers across the country were long-established American missionary stations, manned by experienced missionaries who knew the languages of the people and were at the service of the Committee.

In October, 1915, within a month of the first meeting of the newly formed Committee, $100,000 had been cabled to Ambassador Morgenthau. Upon receipt of the money, a committee was organized in Constantinople to allocate the funds to points of greatest need in the interior. The members were: the Ambassador; President Gates of Robert College, Chairman; Lewis Heck, of the American Embassy, Secretary; William W. Peet of the American Board, Treasurer; Mrs. George Huntington and Luther Fowle.

In Syria a committee of the members of the staff of Beirut University and the Presbyterian Mission combined into a distributing agency after the original Syrian Relief

Committee had consolidated into the Armenian-Syrian Relief Committee, consisting of Prof. James A. Patch, Beirut University, President; Prof. J. Stewart Crawford, Vice President; Charles Dana, Manager of the American Press, Treasurer; Miss M. McGilvary, Secretary; Bayard Dodge, Mrs. H. G. Dorman and Mrs. H. H. Nelson, also connected with the University.

In Persia the early funds were remitted to a committee of American diplomatic, educational and missionary residents at Teheran and Tabriz, consisting of J. L. Caldwell, U. S. Minister to Persia, Honorary President; Gordon Paddock, American Consul, Chairman; A. C. Boyce, Treasurer; Mrs. H. C. Schuler, Secretary; R. M. de Lambert, Assistant Secretary (U. S. Legation Sec'y); H. C. Schuler; S. M. Jordan, Joseph Scott; W. A. Shedd; F. G. Coan; Hugo Muller; Miss M. E. Lewis; W. S. Vanneman; and Miss Lillie B. Beaver.

It was definitely known that large masses of Armenians had fled from eastern Turkey and from Persia to the Russian Caucasus. Disease and famine were in their midst. Over two hundred thousand refugees were reported there, desperately in need and accessible. In this region there were no American institutions and no American residents except the United States government officials. Consul F. Willoughby Smith and his staff, stationed at Tiflis in Georgia, appealed for relief funds and workers and in response the Rockefeller Foundation co-operated by making a substantial appropriation. Work in the Caucasus was carried on in co-operation with the British Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Bryce.

No relief organization ever had a more experienced body of distributors at the crucial points of need and ready to function as soon as funds were available. The missionaries, educators, doctors, and nurses in all areas understood the local languages and could speak without the use of interpreters to the people and the officials. They were deeply

sympathetic with those to whom they ministered. Many of them had lived in the countries for from twenty to forty years. Some of them had had experience in distributing relief during previous periods of distress, which had been altogether too prevalent. Those regions had been afflicted by locusts, by drought, by political disaster and by the maladministration of governments, resulting in widespread suffering and need. Moreover, such workers were not suspected of having ulterior motives or of being political agents. Even after Turkey had broken diplomatic relations with the United States, American educators and missionaries continued undisturbed, working at their relief task, while the war went on. A large number of the workers who remained at their posts of duty were women connected with the American colleges, hospitals and missionary organizations.

All the distributors of relief overseas were supported by the organizations under which they were serving. No costs whatever for administration were charged against the funds of the relief organization. This continued until the Armistice.

The fact stated above, together with the fact that promotion in America was carried on mostly by volunteer workers, while the expense of the central office was met by Mr. Dodge, enabled the Committee to report that practically one hundred per cent of the funds contributed went to meet the immediate emergency needs and to alleviate the appalling distress for which the funds had been given.

During fifteen years the members of the Board of Trustees have served without compensation, giving generously in money, time and service. The same is true of the regional, state and local committeemen. All were busy persons, with far-reaching interests dependent upon them, but they devoted time, strength, and leadership, giving whole-hearted and continuous co-operation to the administration and work of the Committee through the years.

CHAPTER II

CONDITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST

No part of the world has been more swept by war or shaken by the hatreds and passions of men for centuries than the Near East. From the time of Darius the Persian to the present day waves of strife, ambition, superstition and persecution periodically have inundated these countries, leaving wastes of desolation and ruin. It is a region inured to the tramping of armies, wanton destruction, chronic suffering and martyrdom. Four historic conflicting religions have risen and struggled for supremacy in this area—Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. Zoroastrianism has been modified and is no longer a force in Persia, but the other three persist as dominant religions and political factors throughout the Near East.

Religion has been a fruitful source of controversies through the centuries, often breaking out into armed conflicts, attended by revolting cruelties, and always a source of destructive social and political contention.

The Ottoman Empire was occupied by numerous races, each professing a different form of religion which was regarded not merely as a theological belief, but as a badge and mark of nationality. Every person was registered according to his religious affiliation. Greeks and Armenians were Christian, Jews were Jews, and every Turk was a Moslem. Racial groups defended their religion as others might protect their national honor. The Turkish government recognized Mohammedanism as the national religion and the non-Moslem had no place in the political organization.

Every European power had looked, at one time or another, with covetous eyes upon parts of the Ottoman Empire, especially Constantinople. It has frequently been stated that Abdul Hamid was able to maintain his despotic government because the major European governments failed to agree as to what should supercede it. Turkey stood, in 1914, at the focal center of the conflicting international political forces.

The Ottoman Empire was never well governed, measured in terms of Western civilization. The new Nationalist Turkey, freeing itself from the past, is now looking toward the West. From the conquest of Anatolia and Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1452, the country was ruled by ambitious Sultans whose will was the law of the land. Affairs of state were conducted, not in the interest of the people, but for the benefit of the rulers and the staff of palace officials. Under that form of government, the country industrially, intellectually, socially and morally declined. Enterprise was discouraged or taxed out of existence. Alert, eager and educated citizens of all minority races were under constant suspicion. Moslem Turks controlled the government and served in the army.

No country in history has been known to use mass killing during periods of special political or social stress as a method of governmental suppression and administration in the same measure as that practiced in the Ottoman Empire, notably under the rule of Abdul Hamid II. The massacres of Greek citizens on the island of Chios in 1822, the Nestorians in 1850, the Maronites and Syrians in 1860, the Greeks of Crete in 1867, the Bulgarians in 1876 and the wanton killing of Armenians in 1877, 1894-1896 and in 1909 are ugly reminders of the internal reign of terror maintained by various Sultans.

The non-Moslem populations throughout the country did not have confidence in the justice of the government or

the administration of its rulers. The application of the laws was erratic, arbitrary and corrupt. Taxation was unjust and exorbitant, life and property were uncertain. Each non-Moslem citizen must rely upon the protection and assistance of Moslem friends.

Many articles have been written and many speeches have been made during the last fifteen years to the effect that the deplorable conditions in the Near East, resulting in wide-sweeping deportations, were due chiefly to differences of religion. It has been assumed by many that the events were direct Moslem persecutions of Christians. It is not enough simply to deny this, for some may say, were not the persecutors Mohammedans and the victims Christians? While this surface statement is true, the conclusion that the Christians suffered merely because they were not Moslems does not follow. On the other hand, it must be admitted that had all the Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Nestorians and Assyrians in Turkey and Persia denationalized themselves and forsaken their religion and become Mohammedans generations ago, the shocking events that took place in 1914 and 1915 would not have happened. The entire Near East would have been of one religion and hence of one nationality, since religion and nationality were synonymous terms. Differences of religion do not explain the historical facts that took place within the Ottoman Empire soon after the outbreak of the war and which astounded the world by their extent and ferocity.[1]

Under Süleiman the Magnificent, Turkey extended the

[1] "There was no Moslem passion against the Armenian Christians. All was done by the will of the Government, and done not from any religious fanaticism but simply because they wished, for reasons purely political, to get rid of a non-Moslem element which impaired the homogeneity of the Empire, and constituted an element that might not always submit to oppression. All that I have heard confirms what has already been said elsewhere, that there is no reason to believe that in this case Mussulman fanaticism came into play at all." ARNOLD TOYNBEE, "Turkey: A Past and a Future."

Above: This group of human wreckage represents tens of thousands when first approached with aid. *Below:* Near East childhood on the waysides and in the refugee camps, 1915-1919.

Above: Group of Near East Relief orphan girls at summer camp. *Below:* Alexandropol: "Hands up," Polygon orphanage massed drill, October, 1925.

boundaries of her domain to the very walls of Vienna. Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, and all Macedonia were then provinces of the Ottoman Empire. One by one, these countries revolted and won their independence. The Empire was forced backward toward the East from whence it came. The Balkan Wars of 1911-13 left only a foothold in Europe—Constantinople and East Thrace, including Adrianople. Greek Macedonia, Salonika and Western Thrace had been reunited to Old Greece. Four hundred thousand Turkish Moslems remained on their long inhabited lands and became Greek citizens. On the other hand, the Sultan continued to rule over a mixed population, governed and policed by Turks. A million and a half Greeks lived in Constantinople and the interior. The Armenian population was even larger. Kurds formed a majority in the eastern provinces. Syrians and Arabs predominated south of Aleppo. Constantinople was a cosmopolitan city, an unusual mixture of the races. Compatriots of all the lost provinces resided in the city in large numbers.

It was natural, at the outbreak of the World War, that these racial groups within the Empire should sympathize with the efforts and purposes of their independent, emancipated nationals. But there was no independent Armenia, although the Armenian people, both within and without Turkey, hoped and planned for its realization. Armenia had once extended from Mt. Ararat, on the north, to the Bay of Alexandretta, on the south, a wide strip of fertile country stretching from the Russian Caucasus across the eastern provinces of Turkey.

Armenia had been one of the first nations to accept Christianity. It had developed a literature and art and for centuries stood as a civilizing influence against the repeated onslaughts of the Tartars and Mongols until it was finally conquered in 1514. During the intervening centuries the

Armenians retained, with unbelievable tenacity, their religion, their language, their schools, their manners and customs, becoming a part of the Ottoman Empire but never being amalgamated. This was in part due to the policy of the governing authorities who preferred to tolerate minorities as distinctive groups, regulating, taxing, using them, rather than offering them the full privileges of citizenship and political and military equality.

The status of some Armenians changed in 1828 and again in 1878. The Russian army advanced into Turkey from the Caucasus. The northeast provinces were captured by the Czar's troops. The treaty of peace materially changed the frontier. The Armenians occupied vilayets including Erivan, Alexandropol and Kars, which were added to Russia and became the Russian province of Armenia. After the World War this particular territory became known as the Republic of Armenia. The Armenians still living under the Sultan naturally envied their racial compatriots who had gained their freedom from Turkey and were living just across the frontier under Russian protection and they became increasingly dissatisfied with their lot.[1]

There was an indisputable bond of sympathy between the influential non-Turkish portion of the population and their fellow nationals who had secured their independence, whether Armenian, Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian or Arab. But the conservative elements realized that only the com-

[1] Armenian population, 1914:

Constantinople and European Turkey	183,000
Turkey in Asia	1,403,000
Other parts of the Ottoman Empire	440,000
Persia	140,000
Armenia in Caucasus	1,296,000
Other provinces of Caucasus	508,000
Russia north of Caucasus	250,000
Total	4,220,000

Figures given by Representatives of Armenian Republic, 1919.

plete collapse of the Ottoman Empire would be of real benefit to them. Their homes, their businesses, the ties of centuries bound them to Constantinople and Anatolia. They continued to live in tolerance of the government. A few of the more radical leaders, both within and without, persisted in devious ways to encourage and promote a desire for outside interference with the hope of enforcing a change of attitude of the government or even possibly a change of government itself.

After the events in Bulgaria in 1878 and the advance of the Russian army to San Stefano, followed by the Treaty of Berlin, the European governments from time to time forced regulations upon Turkey for the better protection of its non-Moslem subjects. Different races within the country, like the Greeks and the Armenians, were granted a measure of self-government under strict limitations. They were permitted to choose one person to be their spokesman and their officially recognized representative. He was more than an ambassador to the Sultan and an intermediary for his minority race. He was held responsible for keeping the registry of all his people. He had many minor administrative functions formerly exercised by the government.

Schools, churches, inheritance regulations and marriages were all controlled and administered by the minority communities themselves. They were permitted to retain the use of their native language and to maintain community justice for minor civil differences. This small government within a larger government was always a source of misunderstanding and friction.

The Armenians and the Greeks as a race were far more aggressive in business, in agriculture and in all industrial enterprises than the Turks. They constituted the great middle class of bankers, tradesmen, professional men, merchants, artisans and agriculturists. Through their superior

enterprise they increased in wealth more rapidly than did the Moslems. Land was passing rapidly into their ownership. This caused fear and jealousy. In many parts of the country the minority peoples were denied the privilege of the possession of real property. Some of the oppressive measures of Abdul Hamid undoubtedly were instigated to prevent further economic control and danger. Commercially, and as successful cultivators of the soil, the Armenians, Greeks and Syrians were serious economic rivals of the Turks, who became alarmed.

When the American missionaries opened modern schools in the Near East, nearly a century ago, the non-Moslem peoples were quick to see the advantages of this new education and became the chief patrons of the Western schools. They not only attended in large numbers but they paid liberally for the privilege. The Moslem young men, largely under restraint from their more conservative parents, looked askance upon this seeming educational invasion from the West and, with very few exceptions, refused to patronize the schools. Some of the mission schools developed into colleges, and the graduates, increasing in numbers, became a social and intellectual force in the country.

While these schools were decidedly non-political, it was inevitable that the graduates, who studied history, geography, the sciences, economics and government, should desire and work for a better state of affairs within the country and even agitate for reforms. The Armenian and Greek schools maintained by the local communities began to adopt progressive methods of teaching and education resulting from this contact with American schools, and yearly many students went to Europe for advanced study and then returned to their former homes. The number of graduates multiplied rapidly. They attracted the attention of the Sultan and his advisers who recognized the advantages these students had gained from the new learning and who

also noted the fact that their own Moslem young people were not reaping an equal advantage.

The Kurds, occupying the mountainous regions of eastern Turkey and western and northern Persia, were another element of uncertainty and disturbance. There were over 2,000,000 people known by this term. They were instinctively nomadic and naturally chafed under any kind of governmental restrictions. They had a language or languages of their own, but no literature. By the Turks and Persians they were claimed as Mohammedans, which inference they did not repudiate if its acceptance could be turned to their advantage. These people had never been subjugated completely and brought under the control of either Turkey or Persia. They had been used at times by Abdul Hamid for carrying out his plans for mass extermination. They inhabited the eastern provinces of Turkey where the Armenians dwelt in large numbers, and western and northern Persia in areas adjacent to the Nestorians. The Kurds were a disturbing element wherever they lived. For centuries they had been identified with brigandage and they had only the minimum of respect for the restraints of the law or authority of the distant Turkish or Persian governments. They had their own tribal system controlled by their own chiefs and aghas. They were always agitating for an independent Kurdistan.

The Arabs were the dominant race in Arabia and the largest single national force in Syria and in the southeastern provinces of Turkey. They never fully accepted the rule of the Sultan and continued to control largely their own affairs, especially in Arabia, according to the laws of the desert. Modern education had not reached them. They were devotees of Islam and the keepers of the sacred shrines of that religion. They had no respect for and little fear of the Turks. Millions of Arabs within the Ottoman Empire could not be counted upon to give support to internal govern-

mental reform measures. At the same time they could be relied upon to suppress forcibly the advance of any religion other than their own and to co-operate in any oppressive action against those who were not followers of the Prophet. Before the World War the Arabs were not interested in the nations of Europe or affiliated with any of the potential enemies of Turkey, either within or without. They were partially independent, paying allegiance and taxes to Constantinople, unchanged through the centuries—fanatical followers of the Arab prophet Mohammed.

The Syrians lived in that part of Syria lying along the Mediterranean coast and extending back to the Lebanon Mountains. They were surrounded by the Arabs of Palestine and those to the east from Damascus to Aleppo. They were alert and able and dwelt in peace with their Moslem-Arabic neighbors. With the Maronites, a non-Moslem people, they enjoyed special privileges from the Constantinople government. For centuries they had been a part of the Ottoman Empire, but being remote from the central authority their governors had been given a larger measure of local power and in general they had been treated with consideration. American schools had been started by missionary organizations. Beirut University had developed into an educational institution of recognized importance, with a medical school favorably known throughout the Near East. Many young Syrians, like the Armenians, had come to America, seeking liberty and a more favorable economic opportunity. They remitted large sums to their families and naturally increased the prosperity of the country. The political ambitions of the Syrians were expressed less often and consequently were of less concern to the rulers than the hopes and aspirations of some of the other races within the Empire.

The Turks, for over four centuries, were the dominating force in the Ottoman Empire. They came originally from

Central Asia. These Turkoman tribes swept westward, conquering the Byzantine Empire, subjugating the peoples of Anatolia, and espousing the cause of Islam. They have so intermingled with other races during the centuries that little trace can be found of their original ancestry, either in their physiognomy or in their traditions. They retained much of their capacity to endure and to fight. They developed an Eastern courtesy which attracted and pleased the West. Their natural aptitude toward diplomacy was sharpened and polished by constant use in dealing with the European powers. Islam made them fatalists and the Sultan adopted the rôle of defender of the faith. The rulers showed no mercy to their subjects, the officers no clemency to their soldiers. "The law of the Desert" and the spirit of retaliation held sway. Islamic law directed the faithful to conquer the unbeliever and if in the struggle the Christian was killed the Moslem was rewarded. Fanaticism was always just below the surface of Turkish life, easily accessible as a political tool when needed by the controlling government.

The political situation within the Ottoman Empire at the outbreak of the war was confused. The Young Turkish movement had failed to make the much-needed reforms. The brotherly expectation aroused and promised by the progressive Turks, who overthrew Sultan Abdul Hamid, degenerated into the old controversies and racial antipathies.

Albania, Macedonia and parts of Thrace had been lost by the Turkish defeats in Balkan wars of the preceding years. The Empire extended over Constantinople, a part of Thrace, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Syria, Palestine and Arabia. In all these areas dwelt large non-Turkish racial groups, disinclined actively to support the Ottoman rule. The Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Kurds and Syrians were nominally loyal but inwardly hoped for a change of conditions, either from within or from without. The Arabs dreamed of independence. The Armenians cherished the

idea of an autonomous Armenia, rebuilding the ancient kingdom and stretching from Little Armenia, in Cilicia, to Greater Armenia, in the Russian Caucasus, including some of the eastern provinces of the Empire. The unredeemed Greeks of Western Asia and the Greeks of Constantinople turned toward Greece as a protection and pictured Constantinople as a Greek city and St. Sophia as a Christian church. The Kurds wished to be left to themselves, untrammeled by restrictions. The Syrians, sympathetic toward the French, aspired to ultimate independence.

The international position of the Ottoman Empire was no less confused. Germany, by peaceful, economic penetration, had strengthened her hold on Turkey. The Berlin-Baghdad railroad had been constructed with no expectation that it would be self-sustaining. Its political significance was supreme: its military advantages were obvious. The German Embassy occupied a conspicuous position in the international intrigue centering in Constantinople. The Russians had envious intentions toward the Bosphorous and the Dardanelles as an ice-free outlet into the Mediterranean. The Russian military success at San Stefano and in the conquest of the northeastern provinces of Kars and Armenia gave the Ottoman government an uncomfortable feeling engendered by real fear of the future intentions of Europe to the north. England had whole sections of her vast domains at stake. The protection of the Suez Canal, bounded on the east by Turkey, was of primary importance in maintaining communication with India and Australia. British control of the Mediterranean suggested that Russia continue to be excluded. England, indignant under Gladstone, conciliatory under Disraeli, was eager to retain her influence at Constantinople. The French, always eager to expand and externally a protector of the Catholic faith, found Syria a potential sphere of influence. Italy, seeking new markets and new outlets for her rapidly increasing

population at home, coveted a sphere of influence at Rhodes and southwestern Anatolia in the province of Adalia.

The European powers, when they found it agreeable to unite, exercised a measure of political restraint upon Turkey. When convenient to their own interests they presumed to speak for the Christian minorities, especially the Armenians, who in turn frequently were deceived into believing Europe had a real concern for their welfare and might at the opportune moment assist them in securing their independence.

On the other hand, the "Sick Man of Europe," as Turkey was often called, lingered on because every time the international doctors were called into consultation they disagreed as to a prescription which might have effected a permanent cure for the vexing Turkish question. At the same time they were always solicitous that the sick man should not die.

The Ottoman government placed no confidence in the pretentions of friendship of the European nations, nor did it trust the loyalty of the Arabs or of the Christian races within the country. It derived confidence and satisfaction from the fact that these different races had never been able to form, among themselves, a coalition against the government. In fact, Turkey aided and abetted these antagonisms between races and religions, as the easiest method of retaining unchallenged internal authority.[1]

For generations these different racial elements had lived side by side. There was no religious cohesion among them,

[1] "The persecution of the Armenians during the late World War was the worst in their history as far as loss in population was concerned. The horrors of the deportations can scarcely be exaggerated. In this case, an underlying motive was the desire of the Ottoman Government to coalesce the rising Pan-Turanian movement by doing away with the Armenians who formed a barrier between the Turkish Moslems of southeastern Europe and western Asia Minor and the Tartars and Turkomans of the Caucasus and Central Asia. This idea received marked support from the Germans during the War, especially because of the failure of the Pan-Islamic drive."—ELIOT GRINNEL MEARS, "Modern Turkey."

nor was there any evidence of combined racial conspiracy against the government. Several times the Armenians had been the victims of governmental action and wanton killing. But when Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany and the Central Powers there was no question but that the inexpressible sympathy of a majority of the minority peoples was with the Allies, although no outward evidence is available to indicate an open or widespread disloyalty to the Turkish government.

A background of the religious, social and racial situation in Turkey at the outbreak of the war is essential to an understanding of the tragic events which necessitated the organization of the Committee and the widely extended and prolonged relief activities. The picture is confused by many conflicting and powerful forces, of politics, religion, economic rivalry, human nature and relations. But it can be recorded, in justice to the facts, that the events, deplorable in the extreme, were the accumulative results of political action dictated by the central government in which religious hatreds were incidental tools and economic jealousies additional weapons.[1]

The action of the government, soon after the declaration of war, was directed especially against the Armenians. Their ability to enlist the aid of nearby Russia was feared. It is evident from records which are now available, but which were unknown during the period of the war, that the leaders of the Turkish war party, Talaat Bey and Enver Pasha,

[1] "The Imperial German Government did not oppose the deportations, although many German missionaries, as well as prominent Turkish officials, such as Rahmi Bey, Governor of Smyrna, were outspoken in their condemnation of this proceeding. The Ottoman Government continued the policy of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid; namely, that 'the best way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians.'

"Another pronounced reason for the hostility of the Sublime Porte was due to the efforts made toward creating an independent Armenian State, which the Russian Tsar as well as the Turkish Sultan feared might become another Bulgaria."—ELIOT GRINNEL MEARS, "Modern Turkey."

determined on the dissemination and extermination of the entire Armenian population in Western Asia by the method of deportation, which, being interpreted, means direction without destination. The impenetrable war censorship prevented the outside world from knowing the horrible facts until months after the actual events. Whenever the Armenians resisted deportation under conditions which they knew meant certain death for them and their families, they were reported by the local officials to Constantinople as traitors to their country. There were a few instances of refusal to leave their ancestral homes, as at Zeytun and Hadjin in northern Syria and at Trebizond on the Black Sea. The outstanding incident, which seemed to settle the question forever in the minds of the government in Constantinople and the German officers attached to the Turkish army, was the important event which took place in Van, the far eastern province of Turkey.

In March, 1915, the Russian forces were advancing from the north toward Van, the most important city in northeast Turkey. In the approaching army there were many Russian Armenians. Van and the adjacent territory had a larger number of Turkish Armenians in proportion to the Moslem population than any other province of the Empire. At the outbreak of the war the Armenians of Van declared their loyalty to Constantinople, enlisted in large numbers, and were accepted for non-combatant duty in the Turkish army. All the inhabitants re-affirmed their allegiance to the Governor of Van, Jevdet Bey, who was a brother-in-law of Enver Pasha, one of the triumvirate directing the affairs of the Empire. They offered their services to the Governor and volunteered to fight in defense of their city against the approaching Russian army. The Governor apparently accepted their offer with an ostentatious expression of gratitude and immediately called the five Armenian leaders into conference with himself and his military officers for the

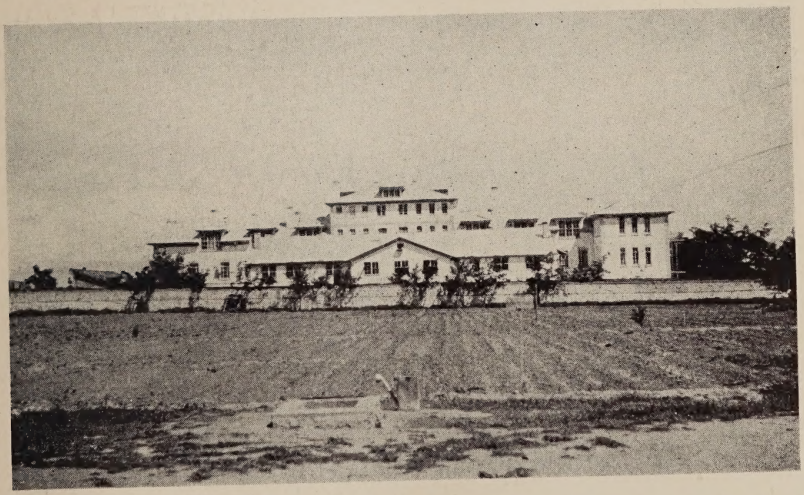
seeming purpose of determining the necessary defense steps to be taken for the protection of the city.

The Armenians were treacherously attacked as they responded to the invitation and three out of the five were killed. The two who escaped aroused the Armenian population in the city to a realization that their pledges of loyalty had been repudiated and that they were considered enemies of the government and consequently they must prepare for self-defense. The Armenian quarters of the city were fortified. For five weeks the Armenians maintained their position against the Turkish troops and the irregular Kurds, who had been enlisted in an effort to annihilate them. At the end of the fifth week the Russians captured the city after a feeble resistance and the Turkish troops fled to the west.

This incident was reported to Constantinople as a revolt and an uprising of the Armenians and as an act of treason against the country. The central government interpreted this event to its own purpose and held the entire Armenian population of Turkey responsible. An order for the universal deportation of all Armenians was issued to the governors of all the provinces, and the ghastly, interminable marches of masses of people began.[1]

[1] "We are absolutely convinced that the policy of Russia alone was responsible for the enmity between Turkish and Armenian elements. Sixty years ago, or, to speak more accurately, until ten years before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, there was no question whatever of any religious conflict between the two races, i.e., religious differences between Mohammedans and Christians. In Anatolia, Rumelia, Constantinople, indeed throughout the Turkish Empire, the Armenians and Turks lived together in such harmony that Ottoman histories of that period do not even mention such a thing as an Armenian question.

"I heard from time to time of deeds of violence against the emigrating Armenians in the vilayets of Mamuret-ul-Asis and Diarbekr. The organization of the emigrants was exclusively the concern of the civil authorities, the Army had nothing to do with it. As, however, I could not allow attacks on the emigrants to take place in my Army zone, as had occurred in the other Army zones, I thought it my duty to issue stringent orders to this effect. As I was continually hearing complaints that the civil authorities in the sector between Bozanti and Aleppo were unable



Above: American College at Marsovan. *Below:* The hospital. Both of these buildings were among the many missionary institutions turned over to the use of the Committee.

Above: American school at Efkere. *Below:* The American hospital and pharmacy at Konia, both utilized for care of the orphaned children.

The results of this fatal order are set forth in the following chapter in merest fragments: Death, tragedy and unbelievable human suffering were written in blood across the length and breadth of the old Ottoman Empire. Whether Germany understood the significance of the situation or realized its horrors is not known fully. The German Consul at Aleppo reported that "However painful and deplorable the conditions may be to which the Armenians find themselves reduced, the Turkish government could take no other course toward them in view of the fact that they have everywhere cast in their lot with the enemies of Turkey." The German officials in Turkey believed that the Armenians, Greeks and Syrians were more in sympathy with the Allies than with the Central Powers. However loyal and friendly the Armenians and Greeks might be, it was a

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to provide the emigrant columns with adequate supplies, and that the people in consequence were being found in a condition of the greatest distress along the route, I made a journey from Aleppo to Bozanti to view the situation personally, issued an order that bread was to be provided for the emigrants from the Army depots, and ordered the doctors on the lines of communication to look after the sick Armenians.

"I thus did everything possible during the whole period of their deportation to give help to the Armenians, as has been confirmed by the Armenians themselves and by all impartial foreigners.

"When, after the deportations of the Armenians of Anatolia, the civil authorities received the command to deport all Armenians from Adana and Aleppo, I repeatedly opposed this measure. I wrote a detailed report on this subject to Constantinople, explaining that I could see no necessity for such a measure, and that, in my opinion, such action was bound to have the worst possible influence on the economic, and especially on the agricultural situation in the territory of the Fourth Army. But as I was told that it was not my business to meddle with the concerns of the civil authorities, I was unable to prevent these orders being carried out.

"However, as I was convinced that the deportation of all Armenian emigrants to Mesopotamia was bound to cause them great distress, I thought it better to bring a large number of them into the Syrian vilayets of Beirut and Aleppo; I succeeded in obtaining the desired permission after I had made vigorous representations to Constantinople. In this way I was actually able to bring nearly 150,000 Armenians to these vilayets."—DJEMAL PASHA, formerly Governor of Constantinople, Imperial Ottoman Naval Minister and Commander, during the war, of the Fourth Army in Sinai, Palestine and Syria. In his "Memories of a Turkish Statesman."

matter of common knowledge, both inside and outside of Turkey, that they would rejoice should a change of government take place in Turkey. They hoped for more liberty and the protection of their individual rights, with personal, economic and religious freedom. They inwardly felt that any change from the erratic and ambitious rule of the Young Turk party, in power at the outbreak of the war, would be an improvement. Under these circumstances it is not strange that, as soon as hostilities actually began, both Armenians and Greeks should fall under suspicion.

That the movement against the Armenians was not due to local religious and racial antipathies is indicated by the following quotation from a report made by Miss Edith M. Cold, a missionary of the American Board stationed with Miss Vaughan at Hadjin, in the Cilician region of southeastern Turkey. Miss Cold, writing of the heartbreaking experiences through which she and Miss Vaughan had passed in witnessing the deportation of the mass of the Armenian population from that city into hopeless exile, reported the attitude of many of the local Turks:

We saw Moslem women loudly wailing with the Christian when the first families were sent out. When Ali Bey first came he called the Mufti and asked his approval of what he was about to do but the Mufti refused to sanction it and said he could see no good in it. This same Mufti was a strong personal friend of one of the leading Armenians, our special friend and adviser, and he tried in every way to save him from exile but in vain.

Some of the village Aghas also expressed themselves freely to us both on the matter of the war and the calamity which had befallen the Armenians. They said that such cruelty would not go unavenged and that the day of reckoning would come. They complained bitterly that there were now no artisans or shopkeepers left to supply their wants and that in a short time they themselves would be in desperate want.

A Kurdish Sheik, from a village not far from Hadjin, visited the city twice only during the summer. The first time he only remained about an hour and with the tears streaming down his

cheeks he said he would return to his village at once, that he could not endure such sights. The second time he came to bid farewell to Vartan Effendi, his Armenian friend. He kissed each of his friend's children, pressing them to his heart, and left in tears.

The Moslems of Fekke and Yerebakan were very much opposed to the sending of the Armenians from those villages. They said they were not guilty of anything, possessed no weapons, lived peacefully and were friends with them and besides were their artisans and tradesmen. Through their efforts they put off the deportation about three months but in the end they also were ineffectual to save them. The Turks of Fekke ought to have special mention for their honorable attitude throughout the whole affair.

Once when Miss Vaughan was passing through the streets of Hadjin she was appealed to by two gendarmes who had been ordered to send out from their home for exile an aged man and his wife and their bedridden son. The gendarmes said, "How shall we do this thing?" and begged Miss Vaughan to beseech the authorities for mercy. These are samples of faint gleams of light in the midst of four months of horrible darkness. Pages and pages might be written on the relentless cruelty of the many.

These reports from Hadjin, substantiated by authenticated statements from many other regions, indicate that the deportations were not the expression of the desire and purpose of the Turks as a whole but were ordered and enforced from Constantinople. The local officials were under strict orders. Undoubtedly some carried them out with hearty and enthusiastic approval and with unimaginable cruelty. Others were not in sympathy with the program of deportation or with the methods which were employed and frequently resisted the orders until they themselves were threatened with dismissal and punishment.

CHAPTER III

TRAGEDY

THE simple facts which are recorded in this chapter, reveal the extent of the tragedy enacted in the Near East in 1915 and the necessity for the formation of the Committee for relief. Over fifteen years have elapsed. The memories of the war have faded for all but a few. The college student of today was a primary scholar when this organization was created. The political conditions have radically changed. The sins of fathers are not on the children. During the war, when nations were fighting for their very existence, suspicion was universal. Age-long feuds clamored for satisfaction and all the baser passions of men were loosened. It is not the purpose of this narrative or of the organization to condemn any race or people. But for the reader of today to understand the circumstances of yesterday which necessitated relief measures on such a gigantic scale, it is obligatory on the organization to review briefly and early in the story the deplorable events of the spring and summer of 1915 within the Ottoman Empire.

When the first appeal for emergency relief funds was made in September of that year, the only items of information available were despatches in the State Department records which had been transmitted by various American diplomatic representatives. Mail and letter communications were negligible and usually took several months in transit owing to the impenetrable barrier of censorship imposed by the Turkish government. It was clearly their purpose to prevent, if possible, news of the tragic events reaching the outside world.

The files of the State Department were the sole source of the earliest information, and these despatches had been transmitted in code, for America had not at this period broken off diplomatic relations, and official communications were possible. The reports contained the personal observations of American consular and diplomatic agents, and of American missionaries, doctors and educators resident within the country. To send a message from the interior to Constantinople required weeks. The events which took place in the late spring and summer of 1915 were made known only in September and October.

The Committee, through its chairman and secretary, gathered all the available data in Washington, carefully sifted the evidence and evaluated the witnesses. The Committee itself was fully convinced by the unanswerable facts that an overwhelming need existed; that there was a chance of saving a remnant of a whole race if immediate funds could be made available. These facts, picturing the tragedy being enacted in countless human lives, were then and only then transmitted to the public. As the drama of events unrolled and more evidence of an indisputable character came to the Committee, it was evident that the first reports were wholly inadequate and the seriousness of the events had been greatly underestimated.

German educators working in the interior of Asia Minor added their protests and recorded their personal experiences. There could be little doubt concerning their evidence. It could not be lightly set aside as war propaganda. The German workers had lived in Turkey for years and were familiar with the language and friendly toward all the people.

On September 16, when the Committee first met, little knowledge of the events of the preceding months was available. The only positive information was Ambassador Morgenthau's cable reporting the desperate condition with special reference to the Armenian people and requesting an

emergency relief fund. The facts given to the public early in October were gathered from the rapidly amassing evidence through regular diplomatic channels.

In recording parts of the documentary evidence released to the press in 1915, all reports referring to the tragic end meted out to the men have been omitted, as the relief work had to consider the living and not the dead. The tales of unimaginable cruelty perpetrated upon the deported refugees by officials, soldiers and those supposed to serve as a protecting escort to these human caravans, have also been omitted.

The Committee could be officially concerned only with the numbers and condition of those still living who had survived being uprooted from their ancestral homes and the forced trek over mountains and across deserts, and the accessibility of these remnants of human sufferers to the agents of relief and mercy.

The original statements issued fifteen years ago have not been re-edited. At the time the first messages were written, there was no possibility of any one person giving more than a fragment of the whole—conditions in a particular locality, the continuous passing of the numberless human caravans, the rapidly changing situation, a complete exodus of the Armenian population from one place, the unexpected arrival of surviving thousands in another.

The few statements that are requoted from the earliest releases to the press originated in widely scattered cities within Turkey. These messages, when first recorded, were used to inform the public and arouse sympathetic generosity. The American Ambassador had given assurance that hundreds of thousands of starving and rag-clad survivors were within reach of relief measures and could be saved if sufficient funds were available in America and immediately transmitted to the volunteer committees of resident Americans overseas.

Reports through Constantinople, 1915:

Persecution of Armenians assumes unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered regions indicate systematic attempt to uproot peaceful Armenian population and through arbitrary arrests, wholesale expulsions and deportation, from one end of the Empire to the other, accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage and murder, turning into massacre, to bring destitution and destruction upon them. This is not in response to fanatical or popular demand, but is purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople. Untold misery, disease, starvation and loss of life will go on unchecked.

I am informed that the Turkish authorities have, since May 1st, deported over 40,000 Ottoman Greeks from the islands and the coast of Marmora to interior Turkish Moslem villages.

Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress. Protests and threats are unavailing.

From Cilicia:

June 30.—The deportation began some six weeks ago with 180 families from Zeytun. Since that time all the inhabitants of that place and its neighboring villages have been deported, also most of the Christians from Hadjin, Albistan, Sis, Kars, Hassan and Dortyol. The numbers involved are approximately 26,500 to date. Of these about 5,000 have been sent to the Konia region, 5,500 are in Aleppo and surrounding towns and villages and the remainder are in Deir-ez-Zor and other places in Mesopotamia, even as far as the neighborhood of Baghdad. The process is still going on. The order already issued will bring the number in this region up to 32,000. The government order under which these deportations took place is as follows: "The Commanders of the Army, of independent army corps and of divisions may, in case of military necessity and in case they suspect espionage or treason, send away, either in groups or en masse, the inhabitants of villages or towns and install them in other places." If the means is not found to aid these refugees through the next few months, until they get established in their new surroundings, two-thirds or three-quarters of them will die of starvation and disease.

From Erzerum:

July 31.—Armenians, mostly women and children deported from Erzerum district.

From Marsovan:

On July 4th orders were issued that women and children should be ready to leave in two or three days. This order was carried out on the 5th of July. A vigorous protest was made to the Governor. Informed that the order had not originated there but was from higher authority, and that not a single Armenian should be left in the city. All the morning ox-carts creaked out of town laden with women and children, with here and there a man who had escaped. The people felt that the government was determined to exterminate the Armenian race and they were powerless to resist. The deportation continued at intervals for about two weeks. It is estimated that out of 12,000 Armenians in the city only a few were left. Even those who offered to accept Islam were sent away.

From Kharput:

June 26.—The proclamation regarding the deportation of all Armenians was posted in the streets. On Thursday all the streets were guarded with gendarmes with fixed bayonets and the work of driving the Armenians from their homes began. Groups of men, women and children with loads and bundles on their backs were collected and driven past the consulate on the road by gendarmes with fixed bayonets. They were held outside the city until a group of about 2,000 were collected and then sent on. Three such groups, making about 6,000, were sent from here during the first three days and smaller groups from other places, amounting to about 4,000 more. Some of these people were from wealthy and refined surroundings; some were accustomed to luxury and ease. There were clergymen, merchants, tailors and men from every walk of life.

From Tarsus:

July 13.—After we had seen thousands of people start out, we came to the conclusion that if anything could be done to stop this terrible crime, which impressed us as ten times worse than

any massacre, it would be done in Constantinople. In Constantinople we found that the whole plan of deportation is one of the central government and that no pressure from the embassies had been able to do anything. There is imminent danger of many of these people from the Sivas, Erzerum and Kharput villages, whom we estimate to be 600,000, starving to death on the road. They took food for only a few days, but could not take money with them.

I am informed that the cities of Bitlis, Mardin, Mosul, Malatya, etc., have been depopulated of Armenians. The Governor of Dier-ez-Zor, on the Euphrates river, who is now here, says there are already 15,000 Armenian refugees in that city.

These quotations are repeated from Associated Press releases of October 4, 1915. The full information covered eleven columns.

Ambassador Morgenthau's cable came in September; the deportations began six months earlier, and continued through the summer. Every precaution was taken by the Turkish government to prevent information from reaching Constantinople and the outside world. Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey made a categorical denial when asked by Ambassador Morgenthau about the convoys from the interior, and these Turkish officials claimed that the missionaries and other Americans were making up the stories in an attempt to injure the government. As evidence accumulated in the Embassy, the American Ambassador laid the matter before the German Ambassador, Herr Wangenheim, who at first also denied the reports, but later, when the German missionaries protested against the events that were transpiring and called upon their government to have them stopped, the German Ambassador denounced the Armenians as traitors and added:

I have lived in Turkey the larger part of my life and I know the Armenians. I also know that both Armenians and Turks cannot live together in this country. One of these races has got to

go. I do not blame the Turks for what they are doing to the Armenians. They are entirely justified.

Not all Germans took this attitude; Professor Lepsius, who went into the interior, and Paul Weitz, for thirty years the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* Frederich Naumann and other influential Germans condemned in plain terms the action of the Turkish government. Enver, then the ruler of Turkey, acknowledged his responsibility for the order of extermination, declaring that it was necessary for the present and future safety of the country. Both he and Wangenheim accused the American Ambassador of interfering in something that was none of his business. Nevertheless, the German government sent the following despatch to the German Ambassador on August 9, 1915:

The German Empire regrets to have to realize that, according to information received from impartial and reliable sources, acts of violence such as massacre and plunder, which cannot be justified by the aim that the Imperial Government was pursuing, instead of being checked by the local authorities, regularly followed the expulsion of Armenians so that most of them perished before reaching their destination. It is chiefly from the provinces of Trebizond, Diarbekr and Erzerum that these facts are reported. In some places, as in Mardin, it is reported that all Christians, without distinction of race or religion, had the same fate. At the same time the Imperial Government has thought it right to extend the measure of expatriation to the other provinces of Asia Minor, and very recently the Armenian villages of the district of Izmit, near the capital, have been evacuated under similar conditions. Under such circumstances the German embassy, by order of its Government, is obliged to remonstrate once more against these acts of horror.

A statement from Constantinople dated early in October:

As for the deportations from Anatolia and Armenia, they are being continued systematically. The whole Armenian population of Konia and Angora is on the road and is at present concentrated along the line of the Baghdad railway, in the last

extremity of misery. They are being sent to Tarsus and Aleppo, to be forwarded in due course to the desert. . . . The situation of the exiles in Syria is lamentable. The despatch of relief is urgently required in order at least to save the survivors.

The Baghdad railway was requisitioned, in the months of June and July, for the transportation of refugees to the south and east. The traffic on the line became hopelessly congested. The railroad was incomplete through the Taurus Mountains. The exiles were turned out on the open plateaus in absolute destitution, without food or shelter, forced to march under guard over the rough passes, down on to the Cilician plains, and then onward toward Aleppo.

An American, riding upon the same train with a German officer in 1915, entered into conversation with him with reference to the deportation problem. The officer said:

You cannot object to exiling a race, it is only the way the Turks are doing it which is bad. I have just come from the interior where I have seen the most terrible sights I have ever witnessed in my life. Hundreds of people were walking over the mountain, driven by soldiers. Many died by the road side. Little children, too feeble to walk, were strapped to the sides of donkeys. Babies were lying dead in the road. Human life thrown away everywhere.

From the eastern provinces of Kharput and Malatia the exiles were forced southward toward Deir-ez-Zor, a town beyond the Euphrates and on the edge of the desert. From the prosperous cities of Aintab, Marash and Hadjin, the deportees moved toward Aleppo and then toward Damascus. The Baghdad railroad and the tributary roads were crowded with masses of people being pushed onward and ever onward in the direction of Aleppo and Damascus.

Report from Aleppo:

All along the road I met thousands of these unfortunate exiles coming into the city. The sights I witnessed were more pitiful

than those I had previously witnessed. There seems to be no end to the convoys which move over the Taurus Mountain range from Bozanti, south. Throughout the day, from sunrise to sunset, the road, as far as the eye can see, is crowded with these exiles.

Damascus and Deir-ez-Zor were the temporary destinations of those pitiable exiles who chanced to survive the weeks of forced marches, hunger and exposure. That this mass of refugees was permitted to linger without being driven further, that the American workers were able to distribute some relief assistance was due to the moderating influence of the powerful Turkish military commander of the Syrian provinces.

The American Consul at Aleppo cabled that there were 500,000 refugees known to be in the districts of Aleppo, Damascus and Dier-ez-Zor and that all these exiles could be reached and helped.

Each month brought new evidence of the extent of the tragedy. Letters began to supplement the abbreviated cable despatches. The temporary relief committees organized among the American residents poured messages through the official channels in an effort to arouse the interest of American philanthropy. The American Ambassador protested vigorously and repeatedly against the whole inhuman drama. The missionaries, educators and even diplomatic agents, unable to stop the events, pleaded with their responsible boards in America to rush aid to the sufferers.

The brunt of the blow fell on the Armenians in the interior. Those in Constantinople for the most part were unmolested.[1]

[1] In Constantinople the Government compiled a register of Armenian inhabitants, singling out those who were immigrants from the provinces from those actually born in the city, and a considerable number of Armenian people in the former class were deported about the middle of August, 1915. Apart from this, there were few deportations from Constantinople and almost none from Adrianople. The Armenians deported from the metropolitan districts were despatched toward the Arabian desert along the Anatolian railway.

Hazards of travel in a roadless country in the first penetration of relief workers into the interior.

What was left of poorly made Anatolian roads after the army trucks got through with them. These roads and the bridgeless streams made travel difficult for the army of relief workers who first went into the interior.

Those in the northeast provinces fled through the Russian military lines into the Caucasus. The tale of the suffering of these refugees in the Caucasus and in Russia is told in later chapters.

A book might be filled with the reports which came from overseas, picturing the despair and distress of more than a million human beings, perishing for want of the simplest necessities of life, calling upon America to come over and help.[1]

Ambassador Morgenthau returned to the United States on February 22, 1916, and at once furnished the Committee with definite and detailed information concerning the situation and the needs in each of the areas. He reported that there were a million or more Armenians who had survived in the Near East, a large part of whom were women, boys and girls. They were destitute, without sufficient clothing, without belongings of any kind and without food. He stated that they must be given help until they could recover their physical strength, find new homes and harvest new crops. The immediate need was for clothing, food and medicine. He declared that when he left Turkey, the way had been opened for relief work, unhindered by the authorities, and that thousands of lives could be saved if immediate action were taken. He estimated that $5,000,000 would be required to relieve the suffering of the Armenians, Nestorians, Greeks and Syrians in Turkey, Persia, Syria and Palestine, and to aid them in temporary settlement. This seemed a staggering sum to the Committee, but without hesita-

[1] In 1916, under the editorship of Viscount Bryce, a large volume was issued in England entitled "The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire." The American Committee for Relief in the Near East furnished some material from its files for the volume. This book is the most comprehensive and exhaustive study of the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks.

In 1919, Dr. Johannes Lepsius issued a volume of over five hundred pages entitled "Deutchland und Armenien—1914-1918." These two volumes give a comprehensive survey of the tragic events which led to the formation of the relief committee.

tion they voted to make a public appeal for the full amount.

Meanwhile, the American missionary, educational and consular agents in the country, aided by some Swiss, German and Danish workers, organized relief units to reach the destitute survivors. Without this large force of experienced men and women available for immediate service, without expense to the general funds, familiar with the language and with local conditions, the relief work during the war would have been impossible, even though ample funds had been generously contributed, for the country was closed under stress of war to new workers.

PART TWO
RESPONDING TO THE CALL AND NEED

CHAPTER IV

SCENES OF THE DRAMA

THE tragedy had its climaxes and its anti-climaxes; some occurred within the Ottoman Empire and other scenes of the human catastrophe were laid outside, in the Russian Caucasus and in Persia. Some of the refugee characters in this great drama in the Near East fled and escaped before the retreating armies into Russia. Their flight, their sufferings and the efforts of America to play the rôle of good Samaritan are told in another chapter. The by-play between Christian people and their Mohammedan neighbors in Turkey and in Persia was more than an incidental scene. It was evidence of elemental tragic forces playing with the lives of innocent people under the mask of war. It overspread from Turkey into a supposedly neutral country—Persia. Turkey needs no further prologue, for the climax has been reached already. Other dramatic events follow in which the relief workers had an increasingly important and interesting part. Syria, within the Ottoman Empire, yet racially separated from it, played its own counterpart.

The scenes of the relief activities were laid far and wide. The Committee was organized to help and to save suffering humanity, scattered across the vast area from Constantinople on the west to Teheran in eastern Persia and from the Caucasus Mountains and the Black Sea on the north to the Mediterranean and Egypt on the south, reaching within the borders of Arabia. From east to west the distance, as the airplane flies, was more than two thousand miles and from north to south thirteen hundred miles, in-

cluding some of the most politically, religiously and racially disturbed areas of the world.

Persia was an independent, autonomous government. The Caucasus was a part of Russia but was divided into three semi-independent provincial governments, i.e., Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. The term "the Caucasus" or "Transcaucasus" comprised all three. Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Iraq, at the outbreak of the war, were a part of the Ottoman Empire. Cilicia was an old term used to designate a part of Turkey north of Syria and extending into the eastern province of Kharput and reaching the sea south of the Taurus Mountains. The region north of Cilicia and extending to the Black Sea was referred to as the eastern provinces or eastern Turkey. The western part of Turkey, extending to Constantinople and the Ægean Sea, was called Anatolia, western Turkey or Asia Minor. The boundaries between the different areas within Turkey were not clearly defined. These names represented general sections of the country and constituted a part of the Ottoman Empire, wholly under the control of a central government, except for some special provisions for a measure of local authority in Syria and Palestine. Egypt was independent of Turkey and under the influence of the Allies.

After the burning of Smyrna and the evacuation of the Christian population and the orphans from Turkey, the relief area was extended westward nearly one thousand miles, to include Greece as far as the Island of Corfu in the Adriatic Sea. Railroads were inadequate or entirely unknown.

The problem of transportation became more acute after the Armistice when an effort was made to replenish the war-depleted supplies and it was found that the few railroad lines were in disrepair and that the few roads had disintegrated under the heavy military usage. The chief railroad extended from Constantinople across Asia Minor,

with a branch to Smyrna and Angora, to the Taurus Mountains north of Adana, where the tunnels were still incomplete and not opened until 1919. The railroad then crossed the Cilicia plains through Adana to Aleppo, and some hundred miles toward Baghdad. Although often referred to as the Berlin-Baghdad railroad it never reached its destination. The railroad extended south from Aleppo to Damascus and Palestine with a branch toward Mecca and Medina for the use of Moslem pilgrims. The present connection from Jerusalem to Cairo was constructed by General Allenby's troops as they advanced from the Suez Canal. In the Caucasus a railroad connected Batum, on the Black Sea, with Baku on the Caspian with an extension northward to Moscow. A branch line went southward from Tiflis through Alexandropol and Erivan in Russian Armenia to Tabriz in northern Persia. Great reaches of Anatolia were untouched by railroads and, until the war, untouched by the automobile. Persia for years was accessible only by the long caravan route from the Persian Gulf and Baghdad northward. Even where railroads were supposedly a means of transportation, at the close of the war the rolling stock, including the locomotives, was in such a hopeless state of disrepair as to make the arrival at any distant destination of personnel or supplies always doubtful.

Automobile and wagon roads were limited throughout the entire area. Roads were in better shape in Syria, Palestine and the Caucasus than in Turkey; but roads that existed prior to the war, and they were few indeed, were scarcely usable at its close because of the damage caused by the transportation of war supplies and the complete absence of repairs. Most of the roads in Turkey had been built for animal-drawn vehicles and were quickly broken into hopeless ruts by the heavy automobile transportation of the military. The ordinary roads, throughout the regions where relief was needed, were animal paths which had been used for cen-

turies by pack animals which were the chief method of moving freight or people. This kind of transportation would have been adequate for ordinary needs had there been a sufficient number of these animals. The horse, mule and camel supplied the demand and under normal conditions met the requirements of the country. During the war all these animals were requisitioned for campaign purposes in Syria and Palestine. The absence of the usual means of transportation from the interior villages made it impossible to sell the grain and food supplies except within a narrow radius of the harvest fields. This made grain and food obtainable for the needs of the relief workers in the remote centers within Turkey, requiring only that funds be made available. Unfortunately, the same condition did not apply to Syria, Persia or the Caucasus, where grain and food supplies were difficult and sometimes impossible to purchase, even though relief funds were available.

While the original appeal for relief came from the Christian races, i.e., the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians, Nestorians and Greeks, help was given to all suffering peoples on the basis of need and not creed, and included the Kurds, the Turks, the Tartars, the Arabs and the Persians. During the war the Christian races were subjected to governmental oppression and repeated misfortunes and were in great distress and subsequently in greatest need and therefore recipients of much of the distributed relief.

The field of the relief operations included, after its operations were extended to the Adriatic: Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey; Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus; Russia, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. The territory comprised twelve different countries, each with its own flag and its independent government and extending into three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. Some of the nations were aligned on opposite sides during the Great War. Each figured conspicuously in the international ques-

Above: Twenty-six little children picked up on the streets of Samsoun. *Below:* Seventeen of them who were still in the orphanage a year later. One died and the other eight were returned to relatives located among the deportees.

Only an old and emfeebled grandmother to keep the home.

tions after the war. The Committee had to win the confidence of each and every one of the countries and secure the fullest possible co-operation of the people and the government officials. Strict neutrality, on the part of the Committee and the workers, as far as the war and political conditions were concerned, became absolutely imperative. No nationals of Turkey, Persia, Russia, Armenia or Greece were members of the Committee. It was an American committee organized for relief purposes alone. While individual members of the organization did all in their power by persuasion and personal effort to alleviate the situation by appealing to the authorities in the name of humanity, the organization and its workers consistently refused to take any action that could be interpreted in terms of political interference. When the question of declaring war on Turkey, after America's entry into the conflict on the side of the Allies, was a matter of deep concern to the relief workers, the educational institutions and the missionaries, it was not discussed in the meetings of the Executive Committee, although there were widely divergent opinions on the subject. Neither was any action taken by the Committee with reference to the adoption or rejection of the Lausanne Treaty. The organization was non-political and held itself to one theme, the saving of life and the training of orphaned children. When overseas, in the field of operation, local racial and national differences precipitated appalling conditions among the populations, the Committee maintained its neutrality and pressed on with the relief work. When, after the Armistice, Turkey attacked a defenseless, hopefully independent Armenia and wrested away four fertile provinces; the Bolshevik army from Moscow crushed out the independence of three Caucasus republics, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia; the Arabs were driven by the French from their Damascus and their Syrian kingdom; the French withdrew their army and their protection from Cilicia; Greece

was defeated in efforts to control and govern Smyrna and the western provinces of Turkey, and a great catastrophe ensued, the Allies being forced to evacuate Constantinople —America remained neutral and the Committee and its workers retained the confidence of all the peoples of the Near East. It has continued to co-operate with each and every country during the period of peace and reconstruction that has at last come to that part of the world after more than a decade of war and strife.

For the first four years the relief problems were simple, as far as the Committee was concerned. Americans in the various areas of need were the agents of relief. All attempts to secure permission for other workers to enter the afflicted war-censored regions failed. The Committee's task was confined to letting the public know the condition of distress throughout the Near East, secure the largest possible financial response and transmit the relief funds as quickly as ways and means of safe transfer could be found to American diplomatic and consular agents, and educators and missionaries who were serving the cause gratuitously.

The four chapters which follow record local conditions and the work of relief in the four chief fields of action. No attempt is made to give a detailed, chronological report of what was attempted during the period, beginning with the organization of the Committee in September, 1915 to the end of the war, which would be but a repetition of efforts to organize refugee camps, to provide employment for widows and the able-bodied, to stem the ravages of disease, to provide food for the starving and to segregate and give special care to women with children and orphans with no relatives or guardians. The Committee soon found itself the only recognized agency of American philanthropy to meet, as far as possible, the needs of the hundreds of thousands of unfortunate victims of famine and war. The Committee had been formed without full knowledge of the

terrifying extent of the need but even when the increasing responsibilities became apparent there was no inclination to withdraw from the field as long as funds for continuing could be secured.

The four relief areas, Turkey, Syria, the Caucasus and Persia, are given separate consideration because the conditions in each region differed widely. The one thing they all had in common was the same refugee and child problem. Only a glimpse is given of the extensive relief operations, but it provides a background for the consideration of the more significant and permanent problem which began to emerge before the Armistice; namely, the care of the unattached and unprotected children. The immediate task was to save life and, in the four chapters which follow, this stands out as the first relief objective. But the second objective, which emerged from the mere saving of the lives of masses of these orphans, namely, the training of children for living in a new Near East, was possibly more important and is more fully recorded in the later chapters of this story.

CHAPTER V

TURKEY

THE tragedy in the Near East that aroused the sympathetic and benevolent spirit of America was largely written within the Ottoman Empire, commonly referred to as Turkey. Conditions of starvation and famine in Syria, masses of refugees fleeing for safety behind a retreating army into the Caucasus, and whole provinces swept by the marching and countermarching of troops, and unprotected from nomadic pillage in northwest Persia, enlisted the interest and found a measure of response before the present committee came into existence. But it was the belated revelation of the horrible events in the interior, the mass deportation of the Armenian population, that stirred the profound indignation of this country and invoked a generous response to the appeal for relief funds to save the surviving remnants.

Knowledge of the actual conditions was delayed several months in reaching America, owing to the rigid censorship and the purpose of the Turkish authorities to keep the world in ignorance of the horrible facts. When the Committee first met in September, 1915, protests were futile; the curtain on the first scene had been drawn; there was only one possible course of action—it was to formulate a relief program.

Turkey was obstinately and apparently successfully fighting on the side of Germany against the Allies. America had not entered the war and maintained an attitude of neutrality toward Turkey. American diplomatic agents,

teachers and missionaries remained at their work, isolated by the restrictions of war. But the treatment of the Armenian people, though adjudged by the German officials a matter of internal policy, drew a series of personal and official protests from Ambassador Morgenthau. He was informed by the Turkish government that his critical attitude toward the deportations was quite beyond his province as a representative in Constantinople of a friendly and neutral power; that any expression of sympathy from him or any attempt at relief upon the part of Americans would only encourage and confirm the Armenians in their disloyalty to the government of Turkey.[1]

Late in 1915, the attitude of the Turkish government changed. There was a noticeable relaxation of the attacks against the Armenian refugees and an apparent willingness to permit relief activities among the survivors. Some officials were even co-operative. Whether Enver and Talaat felt they had accomplished the purpose of making "Turkey for the Turks" [2] a practical reality, or whether the vigorous and continuous protests from many countries, including the citizens of Germany, made a change of front expedient, history does not record.

During the interim between the departure of Ambassador Morgenthau and the arrival of Ambassador Elkus, in 1916,

[1] "Enver Pasha did not receive favorably any suggestions that American representatives should go to that part of the country (Zeytun and Sultanye) and assist and care for the exiles. 'For any Americans to do this,' he said, 'would encourage all Armenians and make further trouble.' Enver always resented any suggestion that American missionaries or other friends of the Armenians should go to help or comfort them. . . . —From Ambassador Morgenthau's Story.

[2] "Talaat explained his national policy; these different blocs in the Turkish Empire, he said, had always conspired against Turkey; because of the hostility of these native populations, Turkey had lost province after province—Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Egypt and Tripoli. In this way, the Turkish Empire had dwindled almost to the vanishing point. If what was left of Turkey was to survive, added Talaat, he must get rid of these alien peoples. 'Turkey for the Turks' was now Talaat's controlling idea."—From Ambassador Morgenthau's Story.

Hoffman Phillips, charge d'affaires, announced that Turkish authorities now welcomed help and authorized the conduct of relief work for civilians of all races in co-operation with the Turkish Red Crescent. After the death in Constantinople of the German Ambassador, Wangenheim, through whose efforts Turkey had been brought into the war, and who had expressed himself to the American Ambassador as believing the Armenians were a dangerous element in the country, there came a change in the official attitude toward the remaining Armenians. German missionaries and Prof. Lepsius had appealed with tremendous force to the German government to stop the terrible events. Whether these facts had any bearing on the change is not known, but something effected it, and the Constantinople committee was able immediately to begin relief operations.

While the orders for deportation of the Armenians were forwarded to all the governors in the interior provinces of Turkey, it transpired that a complete annihilation of the people was not effected—some remained. A few governors, not in sympathy with the orders, carried them out reluctantly and with an indifference that permitted many to avoid deportation. Some were sequestered by their Turkish friends, while others were able to bribe local officials. Children were often left near American mission buildings, or given to the workers for protection; others escaped from destroyed villages and moving caravans. All the mission stations in Turkey were soon filled with these homeless and hopeless waifs—some of them children of graduates of the American schools.

Large groups of buildings and extensive equipment were available. The schools had been forced to close, as most of the students had been Armenians and Greeks. The buildings of the American College at Aintab; Euphrates College, Kharput; Anatolia College, Marsovan; and of schools in Cæsarea, Marash, Mardin and Sivas were turned into re-

lief centers and the mission property was used without expense to the relief funds.

Well equipped American hospitals, staffed by American doctors and nurses and trained native assistants, were located at Aintab, Cæsarea, Kharput, Konia, Marash, Mardin, Marsovan and Sivas. All these institutions of healing became an integral part of the relief program and equipment.

The presence of experienced Americans and of compounds sufficiently large to harbor thousands of children and adults, and the unquestioned prestige of the American medical service, prepared to meet the emergency situation, solved the vital question of personnel and location. Each mission station became a relief station and the children were gathered into the buildings in a few months.

The normal work of the missionaries and educators was seriously hindered as soon as deportations began. At Van, the entire institution was destroyed and the Americans fled into the Caucasus with the refugees. At other stations, Armenian teachers and older pupils were seized and sent away with the rest of the Armenian population. Within a short time, all the American schools outside of Constantinople were closed and the ordinary forms of mission work terminated. Many of the Americans remained and became agents of the Constantinople relief committee that administered the funds from America.

Ambassador Morgenthau was the first chairman and he was succeeded by Dr. Gates of Robert College. The committee of representative Americans, consisted of Bie Ravndal, American Consul General for the Near East; Louis Heck, Secretary of the American Embassy; Oscar Gunkle, Director of the Standard Oil Company for the Levant; Mr. and Mrs. George Huntington of Robert College; William W. Peet, Treasurer of the American Board of Missions, and Luther Fowle, Assistant Treasurer. Ambassador Abram I.

Elkus became a member of the committee when he succeeded Mr. Morgenthau as Ambassador.

This group of Americans serving, gratuitously, was in a position to secure the most accurate information possible from the interior. Through consular channels and missionary connections, conditions in the remotest cities were known. The maximum funds at hand were transferred by New York and placed to the credit of the Constantinople committee for redistribution to the places of greatest need and accessibility, including the Caucasus.

During the periods of actual deportation, it was almost impossible to aid in any way the unfortunate people as they were corralled and marched out of the cities and towns, or as they passed under heavy guard through the places where Americans were living. The caravans were isolated by soldiers and forced to move onward continually. Boys and girls escaped from their village homes in terror and sought protection in the American buildings. The children that were gathered from the roadside or left upon the doorstep formed the first nucleus of the future orphanages of Armenian and Greek children.

During 1916, the relief activities increased. Funds were transmitted from America and redistributed to the interior points of need and to Syria and the Caucasus. The largest expenditures were in Aleppo, under the direction of United States Consul J. B. Jackson. He had reported 150,000 refugees in Aleppo, Deir-ez-Zor and Damascus. Two thousand refugee children were reported as living in churches or other buildings in the city of Aleppo and under the care of the relief workers. The refugees everywhere were without warm clothing or goods of any kind. For their very life they depended upon the protection and tolerance of the peoples in the new lands to which they had been driven. It was food they needed, and they were without money. No supplies of any kind could be sent to the country, so

that relief supplies, mostly wheat, had to be purchased locally, often at exorbitant prices. Still the work went on—not according to the need, but always to the maximum of the relief funds.

A hundred thousand Greeks were uprooted from their ancestral homes along the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea and sent into the interior.[1] They arrived destitute and hopeless. They had received no compensation for their ruined homes or business. They were helpless.

The deportation of the Greeks, regarded by the diplomatic bodies in Constantinople as a preparation for an attack upon Greece, was not conducted with the same severity used in the expulsion of the Armenians from the country. The refugee Greeks were segregated largely in Marsovan, Cæsarea, Adana and Konia.[2]

When America entered the war against the Central

[1] "The Armenians are not the only subject people in Turkey who have suffered from this policy of making Turkey exclusively the country of the Turks. The story which I have told about the Armenians, I could also tell, with certain modifications, about the Greeks and the Syrians. Indeed, the Greeks were the first victims of this nationalizing idea. In the space of three or four months, more than 100,000 Greeks were taken from their age-long homes in the Mediterranean littoral and removed to the Islands and the interior. The Greeks, unlike the Armenians, had a government which was vitally interested in their welfare. At this time there was a general apprehension among the Teutonic allies that Greece would enter the war on the side of the Entente. It was only a matter of state policy, therefore, that saved these Greek subjects of Turkey."—From Ambassador Morgenthau's Story.

[2] Co-operating Relief Committee for Greeks of Asia Minor: Frank W. Jackson, Chairman; B. D. Dugundji, Vice Chairman; Jacob Gould Schurman, Hon. Chairman; J. P. Xenides, Secretary; Rollin P. Grant, Treasurer; N. T. Antoniades, M. B. Atheneos, A. D. Barouxakis, Hugh Black, Robert G. Boville, Arthur J. Brown, Howard Crosby Butler, D. Callimachos, C. Carusos, S. Dadakis, Samuel T. Dutton, Henry P. Fairchild, A. D. F. Hamlin, William I. Haven, Hamilton Holt, A. E. Kazan, Eurypides Kehaya, H. F. LaFlamme, Walter Laidlaw, Abby Leach, M. Litsas, B. A. Livieratos, C. D. Logothetis, Frederick Lynch, N. E. Marcoghlou, Henry Morgenthau, G. D. Nicholas, Frank Mason North, Th. Photiades, J. Pialoghlou, Chandler Post, John N. Poulides, T. Leslie Shear, J. G. Stateropoulos, J. D. Stephanides, Petros P. Tatanis, M. Theodoropoulos, Geo. W. Tupper, W. H. Van Allen and Talcott Williams.

Powers, President Wilson, sympathetically interested in the American institutions, the American personnel and American influence in the Near East, withheld a formal declaration of war against Turkey and Turkey simply broke off diplomatic relations. For protection and compliance with international practice, the American relief workers who remained were made attachés of the Swedish Legation which had been charged with the care of American interests in Turkey. The breaking of diplomatic relations with Turkey in 1917, when America entered the war, did not affect the attitude of the Turkish government toward the relief work. Diplomatic representatives returned to America,[1] but most of the other Americans remained at their stations.

The First Secretary of the American Embassy, who was

[1] "Mr. Elkus said that relief work had been carried on both by giving money to the deserving and by feeding those who were hungry. Of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief he said:

" 'The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief is known throughout the length and breadth of Turkey, and it is the hope of despairing and hungry people of many faiths, and, in many cases, the only hope.

" 'I have no reason to doubt but that the Turkish Government will continue to permit the proper distribution of relief moneys and food, as heretofore; in fact, in conversation with some of the Ministers they assured me there was no objection to it if it was properly carried on. Naturally, they would prefer to have it done through the Red Crescent Society, which is the Turkish organization corresponding to the International Red Cross, but I explained to them that these funds were raised with the understanding that they should be distributed through the Relief Committee and its agents and that seemed to be entirely satisfactory.

" 'Besides this immediate problem of relief is the one of rehabilitation which is to take place after the war. Relief is merely temporary, and will serve only to keep alive the hungry and the ill fed. After the war there will arise the great problem of putting the people back in their homes, giving them farming tools with which to work, loaning them money with which to buy supplies and agricultural implements, and do all those things which are necessary to make a people self-supporting.'

"Mr. Elkus said that the success of relief work in Turkey had been due to the faithfulness and disinterestedness of volunteer workers. Most of these were American men and women who served without pay.

" 'No words are sufficient to pay a proper tribute to these self-sacrificing men and women for their splendid work,' he said."—"Elkus urges Relief Work in Turkey," New York Times, July 18, 1917.

in close contact with the work, wrote in the highest terms, just before leaving Constantinople, of the way in which the Americans, missionaries, educators, doctors and nurses, took charge of relief distribution, working without pay from the fund, and using their wide experience and knowledge of the people and the country to the benefit of the work. He gives them credit for making the limited funds accomplish the largest possible good by establishing soup kitchens for those who faced starvation and providing relief through industries. He made special note of the difficulties of communicating with the workers in the interior of the country, which explained the absence of regular reports. As the taking of pictures was forbidden, no photographic story of the events was obtainable.

Dr. Peet, who was treasurer of the Committee in Constantinople, wrote:

Our relief work is assuming proportions that we could not have comprehended a few months ago. We have, apart from the situation in Syria, a dependent population consisting of deported and refugee people from the Armenian, Greek and Turkish races. According to the best estimate I can make, we have at present upwards of 300,000 Armenians on our relief lists and there are now looking to us for like assistance probably 200,000 more from the Greek and Turkish communities, making in all over 500,000 people, chiefly women and children.

A vivid picture of the progress of the work in Turkey in July, 1918, after nearly three years of operations, was given in a report made by Dr. Gates of Robert College, Chairman of the Constantinople Committee. This report speaks especially of conditions in Asia Minor.

The relief funds were administered under the direction of the American Ambassadors, so long as they remained in Constantinople. When diplomatic relations were severed between Turkey and the United States, it seemed probable that no more relief funds would be sent from America to Turkey. There was no pre-

cedent for such continuation of aid to the subjects of a country allied with enemies of the United States. Finally, the United States government gave its sanction to the continuance of this relief work for the Christian minority races in the Ottoman Empire and funds were sent for this purpose. The Ottoman government recognized the purely humanitarian character of this work and has not opposed its continuance.

Trustworthy agents have been found in the provinces to administer the funds. In some places the local Turkish governors have recognized the great usefulness of the work and have helped our agents to secure food at reduced prices. The relief administered has been given in different ways, according to the conditions of the sufferers.

First, there are the homeless, a stream of women and children wandering through the streets. If you stop a child toward evening and ask him where he is going, he will tell you, "I am searching for a place to sleep." All winter long they have slept in nooks and corners and on the streets, with no blankets, their clothing in rags. The women clasp their wan-faced children to their breasts and their own faces wear a look of despair. To these the Relief gives bread and in many places soup kitchens have been opened where they can get a hot, thick soup two or three times a week. This is one of the best means of helping them, because they have no fuel or utensils to cook for themselves, but at the best it only prolongs life; it does not adequately nourish them. We cannot begin to supply the food needed for all these wanderers and the mortality is very high among them.

There are the orphans who have been taken into orphanages where they receive a small ration of food. In most cases it has not been possible to clothe these orphans adequately or to provide them with bedding. Often three or four sleep under one quilt, but they are sheltered from the weather and they are learning some trade or work—carpentering, shoemaking, blacksmithing, care of cows, gardening, making butter and cheese, weaving, sewing, making of garments and many other kinds of work. The children gathered in these orphanages have generally been picked up in the streets where they were wandering uncared for and nigh to perishing.

In some few places the Armenians who were deported are beginning to drift back and there are some signs which seem to indicate that the Government may take measures to restore

Above: Refugees from Syria just landed from the road. Each bundle represents the entire possessions of a family. *Below:* Work was supplied to destitute refugee women in Syria to afford them a meager living and because the blockade had depleted the markets of cloth.

Mt. Ararat, which rises 15,000 feet above the plains of Erivan, where the Armenians claim descent from Japhith, son of Noah, witnessed alike the tragedy of the Flood and rebeginning of the human race, the devastation of the Great War and the salvaging of life through American relief.

them to their homes, but they will come back in a state of destitution and they will find their homes in ruins, their lands waste, their cattle and implements gone. They will need help to reestablish themselves and they will need much help, for they have lost everything. The need is constantly increasing and will continue to increase for some time, because the process of waste goes on and there is no constructive industry to balance it.

The relief workers realized that the best permanent solution for the exiled Armenian refugee problem was a cessation of the war and the return of the survivors to their former homes and villages. Dr. Gates, in his report, recorded hopeful signs that this would be possible, making the emergency feeding a temporary expedient, awaiting the first opportunity for rehabilitation. The Committee planned accordingly and at the close of the war was prepared to undertake a major responsibility in resettling the peoples who had been living in distant places under the desperate conditions of the refugee camps. But real peace did not come and the emergency not only extended until 1923, but uncertain political conditions and another war added new burdens to the Committee.

Narrative reports from the interior stations again became difficult to obtain, after diplomatic relations were severed. Mail was irregular, when not entirely forbidden. The Committee in Constantinople depended on simple telegraphic messages or verbal reports from some one journeying to the capital. The work at each center depended upon the persuasiveness and ability of the individual in charge to keep friendly with the Turkish governor or vali in order that the rescue of children—boys and girls—might be carried on.

For example, Miss Mary L. Graffam was the only American in the important interior city of Sivas (where she later died). After violent opposition and threats of personal deportation, she won the co-operation of the local officials.

She began industrial work for women in spinning and weaving and gathered a large group of orphaned children for care and training. Throughout the war she remained at her post, with no associate, refusing to withdraw unless she could take away with her all the unprotected children. This was refused her. It later became known that for several months the question was debated by the local officials as to whether her presence was a detriment to the accomplishment of the purposes of the government. She was advised repeatedly that she was not wanted, but she ignored all warnings and continued her work with a steadiness that finally won the confidence of the officials, who began to cooperate and finally sought her counsel. The determined personality of an American woman, speaking their own language, understanding their methods and anticipating their actions, won their respect and they surrendered.

Miss Emma Cushman in Konia also mastered the situation alone. She had under her care, when diplomatic relations were broken, many women and girls. A guarantee of safe conduct was given her to leave and go to Constantinople. The alternative was that she would be a virtual prisoner, unable to leave the city until the war was over. She replied she would go providing a similar assurance was given for each of her women and girls. This she was denied, and she remained through the war, receiving her first adequate supplies in five years in 1919 from the first shiploads sent out from America. During the war Konia became a detention center for Allied prisoners. Miss Cushman handled all the remittances for them, appealed for them to the authorities and officially represented the consular interests of several governments; but she stayed to save the lives of the women and girls to whom she had given her word and assurance of protection.

Every one who remained in the isolated interior stations incurred a great personal risk. Typhus was everywhere

prevalent. New medical supplies were impossible to obtain. The tragic scenes were a constant strain. Food of any kind was difficult to buy. Each station during this period is a story in itself. Each worker who stayed to serve the weak and the helpless, gathering little stray waifs into orphanage shelters, saving girls and women, feeding the hungry, fighting disease, played a heroic part in the stirring events of the period. Several have their names written on the honor roll.

Constantinople itself was full of refugees and destitute people of all nationalities. In 1917, the Relief Committee maintained three orphanages, a hospital and eleven soup kitchens in the city, and in the last half of the year distributed 1,400,250 rations of food. In 1918, for the month of June, 161,000 persons were fed. It was impossible to persuade these people to return to their villages and towns, for no assurance of security could be given them. The city became hopelessly crowded. There was no work for this surplus. The simple, meager rations of the soup kitchens were their only hope. The Chairman of the Committee wrote:

> The relief fund is the one hope of thousands and furnishes to many others the small additional help needed to enable them to fight the battle of life. It is earnestly hoped that the hitherto extraordinary generosity of the American public, that has made the work possible, will see it through to the end. It is with this hope and feeling that the representatives of this fund are holding to their posts in difficult and lonely places and are continuing their work in the firm belief that love is greater than hate.

CHAPTER VI

SYRIA

For generations Americans had been interested in Syria. A university was flourishing in Beirut, attracting a student body from all the Arabic-speaking countries. A medical faculty, with an enviable reputation, trained doctors for all sections of the Near East. The Presbyterian Board of Missions had built several schools, maintained an extensive publication office and had a large staff of workers. Thousands of Syrians had come to America but retained family ties with their homeland. It was natural that there should be a keen interest among certain groups of people in America at the outbreak of the war in the fate that awaited Syria.

It was a part of the Ottoman Empire. The governor-general appointed from Constantinople was given a measure of freedom of action and the country had been reasonably fortunate in having liberal-minded officials. The coast line extended from the province of Palestine to the southern borders of Turkish Anatolia, just north of Aleppo. The narrow plain at the foothills of the Lebanon, facing the Mediterranean, was fruitful in olives, mulberries and fruits. This strip of land and the mountains were occupied chiefly by the Jacobite and Maronite Syrians, with a mixture of Arabs. To the north, around Aleppo, and to the east, and Damascus, the population was predominantly Arab.

Syria was comparatively prosperous. Olives, silk goods, brass and inlaid handiwork were exported. It was a middle country, the commerce of southern Anatolia centering in Aleppo, the caravan routes from Baghdad passing through

Damascus or Aleppo. Beirut was the largest port for the southern province of the Ottoman Empire. Into its harbor came goods from the West to exchange for the products of the East.

The common language of the country was Arabic. The religion of the Syrians was either Jacobite Christian or Maronite Roman Catholic, the Arabs were Moslems, but the country had never been subject to the religious conflicts that had broken out into open strife in parts of Turkey. The non-Moslem races had not been strong enough to aspire to national independence nor had the Arabs and Syrians united against the government.

Syria was dependent upon its commerce by sea and by land. Its wheat supply came principally from the hinterland. The Haran, South Turkey and Mesopotamia furnished raw materials for cloth. When Turkey entered the war the Allies blockaded the Syrian ports and all trade with the outside world ceased. Business came to a standstill. Food supplies which were received usually from Egypt were cut off. The government requisitioned the entire wheat harvest of the Haran for feeding the army. Food became scarce and prices soared beyond the reach of a large portion of the population who were made dependent upon what they could raise on their small plots of ground.

Early in the war Syria was visited by a scourge of locusts which devastated wide sections, destroying everything green and growing. The farmers became destitute and starving.

Syria was the military corridor to Palestine and the Suez Canal. The Turkish troops were massed on this southern front for an attack upon Egypt and the British defending forces. Soldiers were moving constantly through the country. The headquarters of the Fourth Army Division was in Beirut. The commander, Jemal Pasha, was virtual dictator of the country. The local inhabitants were not molested except to furnish men for the army, pay heavy increased

taxes and provide transportation and supplies, but the presence of large bodies of troops stationed in the country and passing through was an additional drain on the shrinking food supplies.

In 1915, part of the deported Armenian population from the north was forced into Syria. Those that survived the terrible trek from the heart of Anatolia were destitute of everything—clothes, food, and money. The American consul in Aleppo reported 150,000 Armenian refugees in the regions of Aleppo, Deir-ez-Zor, and Damascus. Syria and Arabia seemed to have been selected as two places to which the Armenians were to be exiled, although no provision had been made, either by the central or the local governments, for receiving and caring for them. The purpose of the authorities seemed to be to send these unfortunates to regions utterly lacking the simplest necessities of life—to perish. The refugees were directed away from Beirut and the coast, inland toward Damascus and Deir-ez-Zor and the edges of the desert. Jemal Pasha, the Turkish commander and governor, was more lenient toward the Armenians than were the Constantinople officials. He permitted them to stop on their march, allowing those that reached Damascus to remain in the city. They were without food, unable to find work and consequently incapable of eking out even a miserable existence, living as refugees until the end of the war in north Syria and the eastern regions.

Syria was faced with actual starvation during the years of the war. Hundreds of deserted villages, scores of empty houses in every community, were found throughout the country when the blockade was lifted as General Allenby's army advanced northward to Aleppo. The population was depleted fully a third. The relief work was primarily the purchasing of food at war-inflated prices and its distribution to a hunger-infested people.

The entire American colony, comprising the staff of the

American University of Beirut and the members of the Presbyterian Mission, formed themselves into a group of relief workers. The university and the mission were not closed by the government but the regular work was impeded by the war conditions. It was through communications from these resident Americans that the condition of starvation became known. They appealed for help on behalf of the suffering peoples of Syria and the first response made by the Syrian Relief Committee was followed by regular and increasingly larger remittances from the amalgamated Committee for Relief in the Near East. Syria was one of the four major areas of activity during the period of the war.

The Americans early discovered that Jemal Pasha, the Turkish commander, had issued an order that no foreigner should give food to a native under penalty of arrest. An American woman was arrested and taken to the police headquarters because she had given a parcel of food to a starving Syrian. Jemal claimed that the government would provide for its own poor without help from abroad, although he gave practically no assistance to the tens of thousands of wretched people who were actually dying for lack of food. The villages were wiped out either by the death of the inhabitants from disease and starvation, or by the villagers migrating to other regions in the hope of finding bread, especially into the wheat-producing Haran.

Although forbidden to organize a formal relief committee and adopt the usual measures for the distribution of food, there was a persistent personal effort on the part of each American to discover ways by which relief could reach those desperately in need. The Syrian and Armenian organizations were used. Under pretext that Syrians in America, not Americans, were sending foods, villages were aided. But within a short period the conditions became so distressing that Jemal Pasha relaxed and without withdrawing his

original orders he ignored their enforcement, so that the Americans, without openly forming a committee, were permitted to carry on inconspicuous relief activities.

An attempt was made in the fall of 1916 to send to Syria, as a Christmas gift from America, a shipload of food and medical supplies. The S. S. *Cæsar* was chartered. Conditions looked promising for permission to land the ship at Beirut, where distribution would be made by representatives of the Committee. The French ambassador to Washington, Monsieur Jusserand, stated that the French government would permit free passage through the naval blockade of the Syrian coast. The German and Austrian embassies at Constantinople gave assurance of protection. The Turkish authorities raised no objection to an American boat entering Beirut. After the Christmas ship had left New York Jemal Pasha insisted that it land at Jaffa and not at Beirut and that the supplies of food be consigned to him personally for distribution to those in need. This order defeated the purpose of the shipment; consequently, the cargo was diverted to Alexandria and sold to the Red Cross for transfer to their unit operating on the Salonika front. The proceeds of the sale were transmitted to Beirut for relief work.

The conditions in Syria were at their worst at the time the *Cæsar* was being loaded. Dr. Graham of the medical department of the University at Beirut, who was in constant contact with the distressed and discouraged people, reported that for months they had been wonderfully buoyed up by the anticipation of food from America. When the news arrived that the plan had failed, and therefore that no food was forthcoming, the death rate immediately increased, as thousands gave up in despair.

Relief work continued in a quiet way and, as far as possible, through Syrian agencies. Graduates of the American schools and others long associated with the Americans were made investigators and almoners. They supervised soup

kitchens and rationed food in the villages where the need was greatest. Many life-prolonging dispensing centers were maintained in the Lebanon and along the coast. As conditions became more severe, children left without parents or relatives, were gathered into school buildings, protected and fed. As the restrictions were lifted, small industries to employ women were opened to help supply the needs of a market depleted of cloth because of the blockade and to provide a meager living wage for the destitute.

James H. Nicol, reporting on the relief situation in 1918, wrote:

> I suppose you know the desperate conditions in the villages and the methods being adopted. Though we cannot deny its necessity and wisdom, it is none the less tragic. They tell me that they had to adopt the principle of the survival of the fittest in many villages and actually required mothers to select from their children those who are to be granted the opportunity to live, while the rest of the family were inevitably condemned to death. The workers here speak most feelingly of their particular people whom they have kept alive by administering a small part of the funds entrusted to them and they are most ambitious that their people, as they call them, might be tided over the crisis of the present winter without having anything serious happen to them. The crisis is not an imaginary one by any means. Mr. Jessup, who has been placed in charge of the whole Sidon district, reports about 5,000 destitute children, many of whom will die this winter if not cared for by us. This represents about one-fifth of the field that we are trying to cover. We are planning orphanages in Sidon, Beirut, Brumana, Tripoli and perhaps in other sections of the mountains. We are also conducting the work in the Armenian orphanage at Antoura, where the 650 children remain of the 2,000 whom the Turks tried to Turkify.

Epidemics of typhus and cholera inevitably followed the period of long starvation and unsettled conditions. The hospitals and doctors were unhindered in their work save for the handicap of insufficient medical supplies. The demands upon this phase of the work were overwhelming. Cases of

undernourishment could not be admitted as the hospitals immediately would have been filled to overflowing and other more needy invalids would have been excluded.

Bayard Dodge of the American University, who remained in Beirut during the entire period of the war, concludes a report in these words:

> America has done a wonderful service. In all of Syria the people bless the very name "America." Only those of us who have talked and lived and worked with the poor mothers and sick fathers can realize what the American relief has meant. Only those who have seen the little children in their rags, with pinched faces and shivering limbs, can know what food and clothing and shelter has meant to them.

The response from the Syrian residents in America was most generous. They made real sacrifices to send to their marooned, destitute countrymen, money to provide for the simple necessities of living. Up to the time when America entered the war, when it became impossible to send individual remittances to any part of Turkey, the Presbyterian Board offices had transmitted over a million dollars from individual Syrians in America to their relatives and friends needing help overseas.

The relief work in Palestine, before the entry of General Allenby, was carried on in co-operation with a local committee under the chairmanship of Bishop McInnes of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem. The country was inhabited chiefly by Arabs, living upon small holdings of land or tilling the soil for absentee owners. They were able to cultivate without hindrance and secrete enough against army requisition to feed their families. The dwellers in the cities were less fortunate, and to prevent the ravages of starvation in Jerusalem and Jaffa the larger portion of the funds designated for Palestine was used by the local committee for urban relief.

In 1918 the Red Cross organized a war relief unit to work with General Allenby and his army in Egypt and south Palestine. The Near East Relief co-operated in the selection and appointment of personnel. Dr. John H. Finley was in command of the unit. He had associated with him, as head of the medical service, Dr. St. John Ward of Beirut University medical department. Owing to the blockade and danger of submarines in the Mediterranean, it was necessary for this unit to pass around Africa and enter the Suez Canal from the south. They were attached immediately to General Allenby's forces and followed the advance of the army with measures of relief for the civilian population.

After the entry of the British into Jerusalem, the former German orphanage was transferred to the American relief unit. Medical work was started and feeding stations were opened. Later, as the army advanced into Syria and reached Aleppo, and the relief workers followed, supplementing the Syrian committee's work, children were gathered into orphanages, soup kitchens were organized from funds which were appropriated monthly by the Near East Relief for this specific work to the Red Cross unit. The American workers found the French, who had occupied Beirut, and the British in Aleppo, willing to share in the relief responsibilities. The British officers had been instructed from London to feed the refugee population from army supplies, and rations for many months were distributed accordingly.

Shortly after the Armistice the Red Cross Commission was recalled. Dr. Finley proceeded to Constantinople to meet the chairman of the Near East Relief Committee and invite the Committee to take over the work in Palestine and Syria from the Red Cross. They met at Konia in March, 1919, drew up and signed an agreement whereby the Red Cross turned over its administrative responsibilities as of

April 1st, permitting the personnel to remain in the service of the Near East Relief if they chose. By this agreement the responsibilities of the organization were materially increased and the field of activities extended. Palestine was added to the areas of administration.

CHAPTER VII

CAUCASUS

THE territory covered by the Russian provincial government south of the Caucasus Mountains and extending to the Turkish and Russian frontiers was commonly designated as the Caucasus. It was a part of the Russian Empire and shared its fate during the war and the revolution. After a few brief years of independence as three separate republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, the Caucasus again came under the Central Soviet Government of Moscow.

The Caucasus was a prosperous corridor between the Caspian and the Black Seas. Tiflis was the most European city in the Near East. The oil wells of Baku brought wealth from the outside. Agriculture was diversified, from the cold mountain slopes in the north to the warm cotton fields of Erivan. The genius of Russia for governing many different races was successfully applied to this region inhabited by Georgians and Armenians, Tartars and Turks. The Georgians and Armenians traced their lineage back to the dawn of history. Mt. Ararat, a magnificent snow-capped peak, rises cone-like, alone, unchallenged, fifteen thousand feet above the plain of Erivan. This pinnacled frontier mountain between Persia, Turkey and Russia, may or may not have received Noah's Ark, but the peasants still tending the vineyards on the foothills speak with reverence of this second Garden of Eden, where the human race restarted to live, and the Armenians claim descent from Japhith, the son of Noah.

Both the Georgians and the Armenians early adopted

Christianity as their national religion. The glories of the Armenian people began in 300 A.D. when St. Gregory, the Illuminator, baptized Tiridates and all his people. During the following nine centuries the Armenians flourished, developed a literature and art and extended as far as Lesser Armenia on the Mediterranean. Then came the hordes from central Asia, the formation of new empires, and the Armenians became subjects of Turkey, Russia and Persia. The church remained the one unifying factor. The Catholicos, prelate of all the Armenian peoples, continued an uninterrupted residence at Echmiadzin, a few miles outside of Erivan and directly under the shadow of Mt. Ararat.

The Georgians had succeeded, through many centuries and against many attempts at conquest, in maintaining their racial strength and characteristics. When in danger from overwhelming hordes, they retreated to the impenetrable mountain fastnesses, emerging again into the valleys when the danger had passed. The race became known for the fighting quality of its men and the beauty of its women.

Moslem Tartars inhabited the district of Azerbaijan and the Caspian shores. They were agricultural, pastoral people who had lived peaceably beside their neighbors, the Armenians and the Georgians.[1]

Russia gradually had pushed south. On two separate occasions new territory had been acquired by conquest from the bordering Turkish provinces. At the beginning of the war, military strategy dictated the advantages of a major attack on the Turkish rear by the Russian army, co-operat-

[1] The population of the divisions of the Transcaucasus at the beginning of the war was officially given as

Armenia	1,214,391
Georgia	2,372,403
Azerbaijan	2,096,973

It is to be noted that there were many Armenians in each of the other provinces. It has been estimated that the total Armenian population in the Transcaucasus was nearly 2,000,000.

ing with the Allies, who were attempting to force the Dardanelles and cut Constantinople off from the Central Powers. The campaign of the Caucasian army met with varying degrees of success, first advancing and then being compelled to retreat. It penetrated into Turkey several hundred miles, as far as Van, and at different times occupied the northwest provinces of Turkey.

Many Caucasian Armenians had enlisted in the Russian army. The Christian population of the eastern provinces of Turkey were in secret sympathy with Russia and hoped for deliverance from Turkey. In 1915 some of the Armenians were able to escape the tragic treatment intended for them by the Turkish government by escaping behind the Russian lines into the Caucasus. The first retreat of the Russian army from Van was accompanied by a disorderly exodus of the entire Christian population in this intervening Turkish territory.

A cable from Echmiadzin, dated August 12, 1915, reported:

> The road from Igdyr, near the Turkish frontier, to Echmiadzin is choked with groups of sick and destitute refugees. . . . The whole countryside is full to overflowing. At Igdyr, the first arrival depot, a mass of 20,000 is accumulated and another of 45,000 at Echmiadzin. From these two centers they are being distributed in groups to other districts. At Echmiadzin a hospital has been installed. Between Igdyr and the Turkish frontier there are patrols of horsemen searching for children, the sick and other stragglers and seeking to remove the corpses. About fifty orphans arrive every day at Igdyr; part of them are kept there; others are sent on to Echmiadzin. . . . The stream flows without ceasing and it is impossible to estimate the number with any exactitude. Conferring with representatives of the refugees, we fixed upon approximately the following figures. From Van district 200,000; from other districts, 60,000, not including those who reached here at an earlier date. The average mortality amounts to fifteen deaths a day at Igdyr and forty at Echmiadzin. . . . The refugees need food, medical aid and clothing. They are

being distributed to other towns as rapidly as shelters can be found for them. There seems no end to these solid columns moving forward in a cloud of dust. The majority are women and children, barefoot, exhausted and starving.

A second message, dated the 21st of August, 1915:

The stream of refugees still flows, but with a slacker current. . . . The situation is extraordinarily harrowing. . . . There is a shortage of bread. . . . The majority of the refugees are ill. . . . In the Echmiadzin School, 3,500 children who have lost their parents are huddled together. . . . Yesterday evening I visited a building and in the big hall I counted 110 babies lying naked on the floor.

This stream of refugees from Turkey flowed into the Armenian districts of the Caucasus along the Turkish frontier. Simultaneously, another upheaval was taking place in the bordering provinces of northwest Persia. The Kurds and Turks had overrun the fertile plains of Urmia. The population was in flight. Russia was friendly. They crossed the frontier into the Caucasus. Consular dispatches reported that the first arrivals of refugees from Persia—Nestorians and Armenians—numbered about 29,000. They were followed by larger groups.

These messages of overwhelming distress among refugees who were accessible to relief measures were presented to the Committee immediately after its organization. The American consul in Tiflis, F. Willoughby Smith, reported that the Russian government was making heroic efforts to meet the desperate situation by distributing emergency supplies from the army and assigning doctors to care for the sick and to fight epidemics. He asked for funds from America to supplement the aid given by the Russians, under the necessity of feeding, clothing and sheltering over 300,000 Armenian refugees. He asked her relief workers to assist in the administration of any funds that might be available. The consular agents were the only Americans in the Caucasus after

the outbreak of the war. There were no American schools, no American missionary activities in Russia, and consequently no American residents, as in Turkey, Persia and Syria, to carry on the relief program.

With the collapse of the Russian army on the East front and the hasty retreat from Van in August, 1915, a group of American missionaries accompanied the fleeing refugees into the Caucasus. Several workers from Persia arrived in Erivan with the Nestorians and Armenians. Under the leadership of Consul Smith, these Americans were formed into a volunteer relief committee, with Samuel G. Wilson, formerly of Persia, as chairman, and the consul himself accepting the treasurership. He was able to insure the safe transmission of funds from New York to the field of need. The first $40,000 was remitted to the Caucasus in October, 1915, a month after the formation of the Committee.

The emergency relief measures undertaken by the Caucasian committee were supplementary to the efforts of the Russian government. Villagers and townspeople shared their homes with the incoming refugees, but the influx was overwhelming. Every type of shelter was overcrowded; food was scarce in famine frightfulness; clothing consisted of the garments of flight; and the health conditions, with no facilities for cleanliness, became appalling, often breaking out into epidemics.

The second advance of the Russian army into Turkey gave hope of repatriation to the refugees, but this advance was in less than a year followed by a second retreat and the collapse of the Caucasian army. During the period, some relief workers had returned to America because of health. Dr. Wilson died of typhus. Other personnel arrived in the Caucasus from Turkey, where the mission work had practically stopped. Another group had been enlisted in America and sent to the Caucasus by way of the Pacific and Siberia. Thomas D. Heald of the English Society of Friends and Dr.

Kennedy of the Lord Mayor's Fund of London, together with three other workers, joined forces with the Americans in a common program.

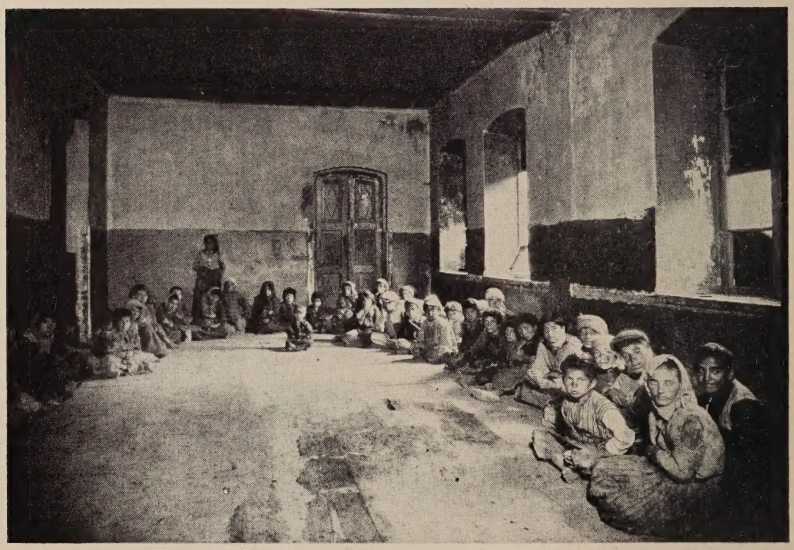
A detailed statement of the relief activities over this wide area, from October, 1916, to May 14, 1918, was kept in the minutes of the local committee, which cover over one hundred meetings and which are now carefully preserved in the New York office. The committee consisted of Consul F. Willoughby Smith; Vice Consul James Doolittle; Ernest A. Yarrow; Harrison A. Maynard; Dr. G. C. Reynolds; George F. Gracey; Robert Stapleton. This group determined the policies, evaluated the relative needs, designated individual responsibility, supervised the local personnel, reported to America and received the appropriation of relief funds, maintaining a careful record of all expenditures.

The minutes of March 28, 1917, contained a report from Erivan and Alexandropol, where the policy of providing work as a relief measure had been placed in operation. More than 2,500 women were employed spinning cotton and wool, in knitting 25,000 pairs of stockings for distribution, and in making 6,000 quilts for the utterly destitute. The spinning wheels and looms were made by refugee carpenters, giving employment to 200 men. For two years all the clothing and bedding which were given in large quantities to the refugees, were made by other refugee women in the industrial workshops.

In the rural villages the surplus refugee families were more quickly made self-supporting. Draft animals were purchased and assigned on the ration of one beast to three families. Wheat and barley were bought and given to the people for sowing their first harvest. Up to January, 1917, the committee had supplied 3,000 water buffaloes, oxen and other animals in this settlement project.

Early in 1917 a survey of the number of fatherless chil-

Armenian refugees on the march through the city of Alexandropol. Duplicates of this pitiful procession might be found on any road in Anatolia, Cilicia or the Caucasus between 1915 and 1922.



Above: Starving, diseased and filthy, these were the children of the Near East who were gathered into the orphanages in the early days of the disaster. *Below:* Listless crowds of refugees, without a single possession in the world except the rags on their backs, could be found in any abandoned building that would afford them shelter from the elements.

dren was made by the relief workers. Between 15,000 and 20,000 such children were reported in various parts of the country, usually apprenticed to the masses of unsettled refugees. The committee realized that to segregate any portion of these children and establish orphanages would be to back a program with unknown and indeterminable financial obligations and moral responsibilities. It was found that the half-orphaned children with mothers could be kept along by a subsidy and that other refugees would care for the full orphans, if food and clothing were provided. The committee decided to make monthly grants of $2.00 per child. The appropriation in the beginning permitted the committee to care for only 4,000. Later, as the cost of living mounted, the monthly allowance was increased to $3.00 per child. By December of the same year over 15,000 children, scattered in 450 different villages, were being aided by monthly grants, and clothing was being made and distributed to them from the industrial workshops employing women refugees.[1, 2]

[1] "General condition of refugees has reached critical stage. Nearly two years exiled from their homes. Only negligible proportion have been able to find work in their new environment. What little money or possessions they were able to bring with them now exhausted. Great distress from hunger. In many districts signs of exhaustion appearing. Large numbers of old, or sick, or weak men with families to support. Appalling number of widows with dependent children. Majority will not be able to return to old homes. Estimate 40,000 orphans here. Need for aid at this time greater than ever before. Urge and implore that New York Committee continue its efforts with renewed vigor if the many thousands it has helped are to be saved. We need million dollars for next twelve months."—July, 1917, F. Willoughby Smith, Consul, Tiflis.

[2] "Have had conference with members of provisional government here regard to relief need, particularly great care for orphans. Orphanage should be established immediately; estimate about forty thousand orphans here. Every possible effort should be made to take care of at least 10,000. Provisional government appreciates committee's work and promises all facilities. Immense need calls for greater extension on lines of relief already established. Committee unanimously feels that number of orphan children now taken care of should be increased enormously."—September, 1917, F. Willoughby Smith, Consul, Tiflis.

The disintegration of Russia began in 1917. The army, which during the year had been successfully operating on the Caucasus front, in northwest Persia, and threatening Turkey from the east, collapsed. The soldiers returned to the Caucasus and then dispersed to their villages and towns. The government was without authority. The Bolshevik party was in power in Petrograd. The Caucasus was in political ferment. The racial elements—the Armenians, the Georgians, the Tartars—were struggling to form a government independent of Moscow. First, a Transcaucasian Republic, independent of the Soviets, with Tiflis as a capital, was attempted in April, 1918. Serious misunderstanding immediately arose and the proposed union was automatically dissolved, each of the constituent states forming separate and independent governments of their own; namely, the Republic of Georgia, with the capital at Tiflis; the Republic of Armenia, with the capital at Erivan; and the Republic of Azerbaijan, with the capital at Baku.

The German-Turkish forces threatened to take full advantage of the chaotic situation and occupy the Caucasus. The Armenians, completely disorganized, were on the border line and unable to defend the frontier. The Bolsheviks in the north and internally were working to secure the allegiance and control of this part of Russia.

Conditions became incurably bad in March, 1918. The presence of Americans in a territory likely to be occupied by the Germans or the Bolsheviks, was unsafe. There were many women and children. Consequently, the American consul ordered an evacuation and the Swedish consul assumed responsibility for American property and interests. After months of travel, the group of American workers reached Vladivostock, Siberia. For months the State Department received no word from Consul Smith, so confused was the internal situation of Russia.

At the time of the forced withdrawal of the relief workers, John Elder, a Y. M. C. A. worker with the Russian army, was seriously sick and unable to leave. His companion, James Arroll, remained to care for him. When Mr. Elder recovered, the two determined to remain with the Armenians and continue the work of relief. Direct and indirect communication with America was tried but failed. They were marooned. Their whereabouts for some months were unknown, although it was supposed they had departed with the other Americans. They were undaunted—virtual prisoners in Armenia. Merchants were eager to accept New York drafts on the Committee in exchange for money to carry on the work. A belated word came that these two men had remained in Erivan. The Committee continued the Caucasus appropriation, not knowing how or when the money could be sent or used, when drafts signed by Arroll and Elder began to be presented in New York for payment. Then it was known the work was continuing.

Thousands of children and orphans survived because these two men remained. The work in other parts of the area was carried on for a time with funds left with local committees before the departure of the Americans. This local board of control, as it was called, consisted of the outstanding members of the community and a bishop or priest. They were entrusted with the distribution of supplies on hand, but had no authority or method of securing additional funds.

The defeat of Turkey removed the danger from the southern frontier of the Caucasus. Possible conflict between the separate republics and insistent pressure by the Soviets and the desire of the Allies to have control of this corridor between Persia and the Black Sea, led to the nominal occupation of Baku and Tiflis in the Caucasus by the British-Indian troops in 1918-19. The presence of the British, though in comparatively small numbers, had a salutary in-

fluence and tended to stabilize the political, if not the economic, situation.

After the collapse of Russia in 1917, no governmental aid was available to the refugees. No officially organized efforts were made to settle permanently this mass of 300,000 refugees from Turkey and Persia. Crops were not planted because of the uncertainties. It was impossible to import food. Medical supplies were unobtainable. Epidemics of dysentery and relapsing fever, because of the wretchedness of the population and weakness from undernourishment, took terrific toll in life. In 1918, a series of typhus epidemics swept the country, owing to utter lack of preventive facilities. The winter of 1918-19 was a tragedy in starvation and disease. It was estimated that over 250,000 persons died in the Caucasus during these months; from December to April 15,000 deaths were recorded in the city of Tiflis alone. It was called by one writer the "Land of the Stalking Death." The story of the relief work after the Armistice in this land of pestilence and hunger is told in another chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

PERSIA

PERSIA, partly because of its remoteness, retained an indefinable fascination from its glorious past. Tales of love and fancy, woven into poetry, miniatures of contrasting life amid oriental surroundings, allured occidental imagination and interest. The adventures of Hadj Baba revealed a way of thinking and a mode of living filled with distant color and attractive unfamiliarities. Persia—the land of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes—was also the country of an unprogressive Shah. The realities of Persian life and conditions at the outbreak of the war were stern and drab.

It was a country extending from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, with over a thousand miles of intervening barren plateau, flecked with a scattering of villages and cities. It was a land of magnificent distances without a railway and with few roads. The discovery of oil in the south had brought new wealth and strengthened British interests, which for decades had considered an independent and friendly Persia essential to the protection of India against possible Russian aggression. The people of the villages and towns on the eastern frontier toward Afghanistan, world-known for their beautiful rugs, had for centuries tilled the fruitful valleys and cultivated the plains. The natural outlet from north Persia was through Russia. It was easily accessible by way of the Caspian Sea from Teheran, the capital, or by an extension of the Russian railroad to Tabriz. The Russians jealously protected the growing sphere of influence in north Persia. The northwest provinces, including Tabriz and the Urmia district were the most

prosperous, the city having a large export trade in rugs and over a million pounds of raisins being shipped out of Urmia each year. It was this section of Persia, bordering upon Russian Armenia to the north and Turkish Kurdistan on the west, that suffered from repeated invasions and continuous conflict and the final exile of a large part of the Christian people.

Persia had a population of nearly 10,000,000, a fifth of whom were nomadic Kurds, Turks and Arabs. Islam was the dominating religion. They were Shiahs, devoted and aggressive followers of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed. The Christian Assyrians, Nestorians and Armenians occupied the fertile provinces of Urmia and Tabriz. These religious groups were accorded a large measure of religious autonomy by the nominally Moslem government, including control of their communities, schools and churches. It was natural that their sympathies should be with Christian Russia, bordering on the north, rather than with Moslem Turkey or even with their own Moslem government. They looked upon Russia as their natural protector and Russia was not averse to taking advantage of this attitude, finding in the situation an opportunity to strengthen her influence in Persia. The Christian groups were industrious and progressive, eager for education and quick to appraise the advantages offered by the American missionary schools with their western ideas.

American missionary interests in Persia began in 1811, when Henry Martyn translated the New Testament into the native language and presented the completed manuscript to the Moslem Shah at Teheran. Some twenty years later the Presbyterian Board of Missions sent workers into Persia. The educational, medical and church activities expanded until, at the beginning of the war, there were seventy-five American personnel in the stations of Tabriz, Urmia, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Meshed and Teheran. It

was this group of American workers, familiar with the language, which co-operated so effectively with the diplomatic representatives in the relief efforts. Some gave the full measure of service and died attending the sick and the hungry.

The capital at Teheran was far distant and these border provinces had learned not to depend entirely for protection upon the uncertainties of the army. Under normal conditions the mixed population of the northwest, by co-operating, were able to defend themselves against occasional attempts of the nomad Kurds and Turks from the mountains on the frontier to pillage and loot the prosperous villages of the plains and Lake Urmia.

Soon after Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers, an effort was made to unite all the Moslem peoples under Pan-Islam and to declare a Holy War. The Mohammedan Persians were expected to join the movement with fanatical zeal. The effort did not meet with outward success. The Moslems of India remained loyal to England and Persia nominally retained her neutrality. Constant pressure was being brought to bear upon the Shah to join Turkey in the war. There was a natural bond of religious sympathy. Turkish troops and irregulars were not hesitant about crossing the weakly protected frontiers into Persian territory.

The Christian population—the Nestorians, Assyrians and Armenians—fully realized their inability to defend themselves against the Kurds and Turks on the west without the co-operative aid of their Moslem Persian neighbors. They made known their precarious situation to the Russians on the north and asked for their military protection. The Russian government responded and Russian troops occupied northwest Persia. This territory, together with the Caucasus, became a haven for some of the Armenian refugees forced to flee from the eastern provinces of Turkey, and

a relief problem of growing magnitude developed in northwest Persia. Everywhere throughout the country living conditions became increasingly difficult because of uncertainties. Brigandage increased, grain became scarce and famine prices were demanded from the people for the necessities of life.

The conditions in Urmia in 1915 are described by one of the workers, Mrs. Harry Packard:

After the formal declaration of war, the Turks invaded the Caucasus and threatened the communications of the Russians in northwest Persia. Suddenly, in January, the Russians evacuated Urmia. The Christians who had sufficient warning fled across the Russian border. The flight of more than 12,000 people in the bitter cold of midwinter was appalling. Many perished by the way from exhaustion and exposure. The departure of the Russians was the signal for the Kurds to rush upon the defenseless plain. With the Persian rabble they wrought havoc in the outlying Christian villages. Several thousand villagers found refuge with kindly Mohammedan neighbors; a few saved their lives by professing Mohammedanism; more than a thousand died because they refused to change their faith; and over two hundred women and girls were carried off into captivity. About 15,000 reached the buildings and premises of the American mission and 3,000 found refuge on French mission property. The refugees filled all the available school rooms, cellars, hallways, closets, offices and churches. A food department was organized, for most of the refugees had no food. Over five tons of bread were given out daily. Most of them had nothing else for months. Several thousand were mountaineers and the lowest type of villagers of the plain.

The work of sanitation was a herculean task, with over 10,000 people in the space of a small city block, with no sewer system or sanitary conveniences. Several small streams of water from the open water channels of the city flowed through the yard. These were the sources of water for drinking and washing. For four months the deaths ranged from ten to thirty-nine daily. It was almost five months before the Russians returned, bringing freedom and safety to the refugees huddled inside the American compounds. They were months of long-drawn-out agony and

suspense. The crowding of the refugees, the inadequate food supplies, inevitable filth, sickness and death, before the Russians returned, brought the death rate to nearly 4,000. There were frequent times of panic and terror. After some weeks the missionary workers began to contract typhus and typhoid. Thirteen out of eighteen were taken sick and three died.

After the return of the Russians every effort was made to persuade the Christians to return to their dismantled and, in many cases, demolished, homes. The Relief Committee distributed tools to them and loaned them animals. By August the prospects were growing brighter and then a Turkish drive in another part of the war zone forced the Russians to evacuate Urmia a second time. Again the whole Christian population of the plain fled for safety, but within a month the Russians returned and remained until the Russian break-up in the fall of 1917. The year 1916 and early part of 1917 were comparatively quiet, with occasional alarms and talk of flight. Under such conditions it was not difficult to persuade the villagers to sow and maintain the food supply.

When, in 1917, it was inevitable that the Russian Army, completely disorganized, would withdraw, the question was, should the Christian population go with the Russian. The other alternative was to arm as many Assyrians and Armenians as possible with the hope that they could hold out until the English took Mosul, which event it was believed would make the Christians safe in their own homes. This course was advocated by Russian officers, many of whom offered to stay in Urmia to officer the newly organized battalions of Assyrians and Armenians. A French officer was sent to Urmia by an Allied staff which had taken over the direction of military affairs on the Caucasus front upon the disintegration of the Russians, and finally the British political officer, who had formulated the plan, kept the front closed with local Christian forces after the withdrawal of the Russians.

It is not strange that the people decided to stay, trusting to the promises of the Allied representatives, and right royally did the Christian fighters support the cause of the Allies. They were a ragged and unkempt army, an imperfectly disciplined force of irregulars, but they were splendid fighters and in fourteen pitched battles against Persians, Kurds and regular Turkish forces, they were victorious during the first six months.

The Persian Mohammedans, when they saw the Russian forces

withdraw, thought it was a great opportunity and they, too, armed themselves. There were continued clashes between Christians and Moslems within the city. On February 22, 1918, the Moslems planned a battle to control the city. The struggle continued a full day, when the armed Christians finally captured the public square. Then a company of mullahs, with flags of truce, went to Mar Shimon, the Assyrian Patriarch, and surrendered. A few hundred native Christians had overcome several thousand Moslems. At the time of the Moslem effort to take possession of Urmia, the Christians elsewhere were in similar danger and were not able to defend themselves. The Christians of Khoi, three days' journey to the north, were held as hostages by the Mohammedans to insure the good behavior of the Christians of Urmia. There were 3,300 of these Assyrian refugees and 1,600 Armenians. The Moslem governor would not permit them to leave, and later over 3,000 of them were killed.

On March 18, 1918, Mar Shimon, ostensibly invited to a truce with the Kurds, was treacherously killed by the Kurdish chief, Ismid Agha, commonly called Simko.

Early in the year, when the Persians found they were no match for the Assyrian and Armenian forces, they invited the Turks and the Kurds to come in from the mountains to the west and help them. The Turkish armies began to draw near. The Turks pressed on all sides. On July 31st flight could no longer be averted. Dr. and Mrs. Shedd accompanied the refugees, estimated at nearly 70,000, including Armenians who had fled early from Van in Turkey, and Armenians and Assyrians from Salmas. They started on their way, on foot, on donkeys and on ox carts and the vast human caravan moved across the plain, toward hope and safety.

This endless human caravan set out on foot, leaving their homes and all behind, pushing onward in the face of great danger from marauding tribes, sickness and hunger, with but one hope—safety. Dr. and Mrs. Shedd, missionaries of long experience in Persia, left with the exiles, sharing their hardships, helping them maintain a semblance of order and daily progress. On the journey over the mountain Dr. Shedd was taken ill with cholera. There were no medicines—no special food—not even a comfortable place to rest, for the

A refugee child of Persia.

A refugee family of Persia returns to its ruined home.

caravan must push on and he must be carried forward. He died just a week after he had left Urmia. Mrs. Shedd buried him in a lonely mountain grave and moved on with the refugees, arriving in Hamadan, broken in health, twenty-five days later. She reported that during the journey from Urmia to Hamadan, between 2,500 and 3,000 of the 70,000 who started died enroute.[1]

In February of 1916, M. Philips Price, war correspondent for British newspapers, after visiting Urmia and Salmas, reported that Dr. E. W. McDowell, with funds from the American Committee headed by U. S. Consul Gordon Paddock of Tabriz, was impartially doing the best possible relief work among Assyrians and Armenians and refugees of all classes. He recommended that the Archbishop of Canterbury funds be sent to the British consul at Tabriz for use of the British and American committees in co-operative relief service.

The whole country was in a state of uncertainty, neutral, yet unable to prevent other armies from crossing and re-crossing its frontiers or marching through its territory. Cut off from the outside world, remote and isolated, with its markets closed, Persia passed through a period of economic starvation. The failure of crops, the vast fertile areas abandoned because of insecurity and speculation in grain, brought famine, hunger and distress to great masses of people outside the northwest provinces. Teheran, the capital, was filled with refugees from the unprotected areas. The local relief committee in a report dated July, 1918, stated:

> More than 30,000 people have been helped in Teheran alone—not counting the thousands in outside cities, villages and districts. Thousands and thousands of families are hopeful and patient

[1] Forty thousand Christian refugees from Urmia are enroute Hamadan and are followed by possibly forty thousand more. Epidemics and hunger cause many deaths.—CALDWELL, Minister to Persia, August, 1918.

who would otherwise be in despair. Men who have even destroyed their houses, selling the beams of the roofs, and living in the fields, or under trees, are praying for America to save them this winter from starvation, or death by cold. Quantities of food, quilts by the thousands, clothing, charcoal for warmth and for fuel, animals for plowing and for burdens—all and much more than this—must be supplied from your generosity. Camels, sheep, oxen, cows, goats, horses and mules have died in thousands, or have been killed by the villagers to keep themselves alive. From the money you have sent, many villagers have sown wheat and barley and thousands have been saved from starvation.

For three years the need continued unabated. One calamity followed another in rapid succession. Not one, nor a hundred, needed help, but thousands and hundreds of thousands. It was not for one emergency meal but for monthly rations that the requests came, and were answered with additional drafts from the Committee in New York.

The relief workers heroically faced many a seemingly hopeless situation. In the midst of epidemics they led the fight against disease. The cable messages frequently brought the sad news of the death of an American relief worker at the post of service. Others were reported sick with typhus, typhoid, or some other serious illness of the East. The Committee was urged to send reënforcements of doctors and workers.[1]

[1] "From 1915 to 1917 the Turkish and Russian armies had fought backwards and forwards through the country, from the western coast of the Caspian Sea to the borders of Mesopotamia. The country was in a terrible state, and the peasantry was in the last stages of starvation. Every time I was forced to stop my car, I was surrounded by hundreds of near-skeletons who screamed and fought for such scraps as I was able to spare. In a single day's journey of fifty-six miles between the towns of Kirind and Kermanshah, I counted twenty-seven corpses by the roadside, most of them those of women and children, and the general condition of life amongst the peasants was so frightful that I was ashamed to eat my simple rations in their presence.

"Famine conditions naturally bring disease in their wake, and typhus, cholera, smallpox and the influenza epidemics ravaged our force in spite of what I feel was the almost perfect technique of our efficient Army Medical Service. I lost my friends and my men from all kinds of foul

Hugo A. Müller, a relief worker, after revisiting Urmia, described Mart Maryam, the Christian quarter of the city, as "a maze of uncovered buildings, a wilderness of white walls looking to heaven. The street below, that used to be such a busy thoroughfare, was dead and silent; one almost listened for the sound of jackals. When, perchance, a man walked up the street, his heavy footfalls seemed almost an intrusion in the city of the dead. Those who built up this section, because of their religion and their defense of the Allied cause, are now scattered to the four winds and dare not return unprotected."

The conditions seemed sufficiently desperate to require a relief commission of size and experience. The country was accessible by way of Bombay and the Persian Gulf. Persia was increasingly an uncertain factor in the war. Repeated efforts had been made by the Central Powers and by Turkey to have Persia join the Moslem cause. Russia, disrupted by revolution, was no longer a factor or influence, but England remained an important element in southern Persia. A relief commission at this uncertain period would be additional evidence of the friendliness of America and, in addition to strengthening the relief forces, it might influence Persia to retain her neutrality. The political significance of this mission caused the Committee to select an outstanding national leader, familiar with the conditions of the country and the character of the people. Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, President of Chicago University, volunteered and accepted the invitation at great personal sacrifice. On the Commission with him were associated Prof. A. V. W. Jackson of Columbia University, the outstanding American authority on Persia and the author of "Persia, Past and

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diseases, and under such conditions it is little wonder that many of my brother officers, especially those who until the war had never been out of England, regarded Persia as a veritable hell on earth."—Col. F. A. C. Forbes-Leith, "Checkmate."

Present," Livingston Bentley, J. W. Cook, Theodore A. Elmer, H. R. Holmes, Harrison Maynard, E. W. McDowell, Wilber E. Post, Wilfred M. Post, Leland Rex Robinson, F. Tredwell Smith, R. S. Vaile, and Maurice Wertheim, a New York banker who volunteered to act as treasurer. Several of the other members had lived previously in the Near East and were familiar with some of the languages and understood the conditions. Three of the staff were physicians.

Dr. Judson was given full and unlimited authority, and determined the policy of the Commission and the number of memberships. He was authorized to make purchases of such medical supplies, foodstuffs, transportation equipment or other material, which, from investigation or information enroute, he was convinced would be essential to the largest ultimate service of the Commission.

This Commission was appointed with the full approval and hearty co-operation of Washington. The Secretary of State gave it complete endorsement and personally invited Dr. Judson to Washington for a conference. This was the only Commission sent out by the Committee during the war. Attempts were made to secure permission to send a commission into Turkey but they were opposed consistently by the Ottoman government.

Just before Dr. Judson and his party sailed for Bombay, enroute to Persia, a luncheon was given in his honor. It was a notable gathering of men of influence in international affairs. It was understood that Dr. Judson, then nearly seventy years of age, was incurring a personal risk which only the significance of the mission justified. Yet he made it perfectly clear that he felt it was his duty and welcomed wholeheartedly the opportunity to render this great humanitarian service and deliver a message of good will and friendship from America to the government of Persia. A series of addresses was followed by an outline of the purpose, pro-

gram and procedure of the mission by Dr. Judson. The presiding officer then turned to Cleveland H. Dodge, whose interest in all the relief work was second to that of no living person and said: "I will now call upon Mr. Dodge to give the last address of the day." Mr. Dodge arose and said, with deep feeling:

"This is no time for more speaking. Enough has been said. The Chairman has asked me to give the last address—let us unite in prayer for the protection of Dr. Judson, his important Commission and for the work and the workers overseas."

The success with which Dr. Judson and the other members carried through their mission of service and good will was evidenced in a letter received by the Committee from Arthur C. Boyce, written from Teheran in November, 1918:

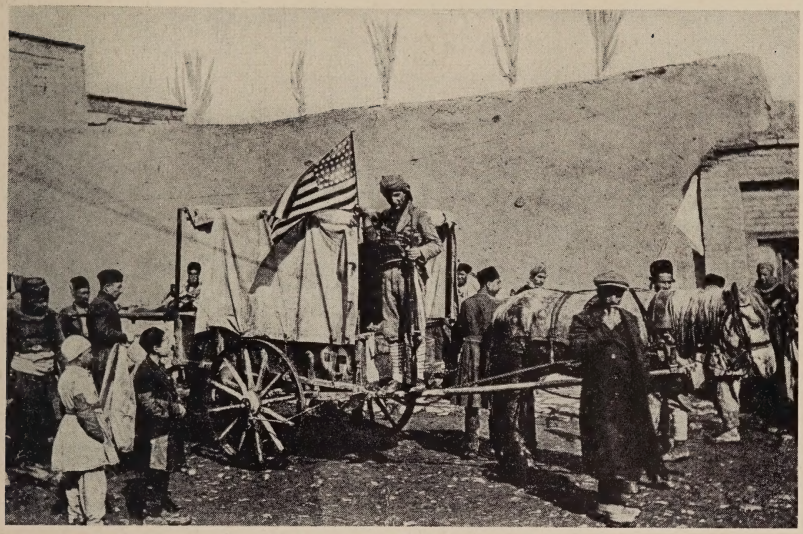
> I do not believe that any foreigner has been so royally received in Persia since the days of Shah Abbass and the early English ambassadors to the Persian Court. The name of America is magic these days and the people are expecting much from us in the future. The coming of this Commission has made the government and people feel that America has a special interest in the welfare of Persia and as one Persian gentleman expressed it, at a meeting of our Relief Committee the other day, "that there is still upon the earth a people who will work for other and weaker nations sincerely and unselfishly." Dr. Judson will tell you, no doubt, about the way they have been received and honored and decorated by Shah and people (for Dr. Judson the order of "The Lion and the Inn" the highest decoration ever given), how they have been dined and teaed by every part of the community from the Armenian Council to Zoroastrian Assembly. Professor Jackson's scholarship in things Persian and deep sympathy for the Persian people, together with Dr. Judson's fine diplomacy and keen appreciation of the difficulties under which the government is working, have greatly enhanced the name of America and gives us who stay behind a great deal to live up to.

The Commission strengthened the neutrality of the Per-

sian government, enhanced the prestige of America and enlarged the scope of the relief activities. The staff of workers, depleted by sickness, was strengthened by the arrival of new personnel. The presence of an official representation from the Committee in New York with whom they could confer, counsel and plan greatly encouraged the workers who had depended for years upon the inadequacy of cables and letters. They better understood how limited funds had sometimes necessitated a negative reply to their urgent requests for additional appropriations to meet unexpected and increasing needs. They were certain of having a full and accurate report of the conditions within the country reach the Committee when Dr. Judson returned.

During the year 1918 a British expeditionary force moved across Persia from Baghdad and the south, slowly working its way toward the Caspian Sea, across the Caucasus to Batum, for the purpose of threatening the Turkish rear. Some 50,000 of the refugees from Urmia had reached Baghdad and under British and American relief agencies had been organized into an industrial camp, partially self-supporting. Other refugees from the same province, who had sought protection in Tabriz and other larger cities, living under miserable conditions, hoped that the British would remain in Persia and that under their protection they might return in safety to their old homelands toward the Turkish frontier. But this hope was never fulfilled. The British passed through into the Caucasus. Even after the war the weakened Persian government was never able to guarantee security against the restless plunder-loving Kurds of the mountains, and so the Christian refugees never returned.

The problem of the settlement of the exiles, 50,000 in Baghdad and nearby camps, an equal number in Mosul and the surrounding country, 5,000 in Hamadan, over 10,000 in Tabriz and scattered groups elsewhere, not including the



Above: Near East Relief ambulance, with its American flag, in service during the battle of Urmia. *Below:* Refugee women were employed to make 6,000 quilts for the use of the orphans and destitute.

Above: Main building of the American College in Urmia, used as Near East Relief headquarters and later by the invading chief, Simko; practically the only important building left standing in Urmia after the siege. *Below:* The orphanage for boys at Tabriz.

large numbers who fled to the Caucasus, aggravating the desperate condition there, occupied the best efforts of the relief workers for more than three years after the close of the war. To rehabilitate these people to Urmia and Salmas was impossible. However, in the district of Hamadan there were villages partially depopulated by the famine of 1919. The village masters co-operated with the relief workers and most of the refugees were placed in self-support and permanent homes.

In Tabriz, during the war, the local committee had followed the general policy of giving aid in return for labor. More streets were repaired, more permanent improvements were made for the general benefit in Tabriz than in any other place as a by-product of the distribution of relief. A large portion of the paved streets in the city today are the work of the refugees. Women were employed in industrial workshops, making rugs, weaving cloth, preparing wool and cotton for spinning and in handiwork of many varieties. At one time over 1,000 women were given work and in return received sufficient wages to provide for the minimum necessities of life.

In Persia, as elsewhere, there was an inevitable residue of orphans from the repeated disasters, although families were never forcibly separated and relatives quickly assumed responsibility for dead fathers and mothers. Compared with the orphan problem in other areas, the numbers were insignificant. Small orphanages were maintained at Tabriz, Hamadan and Kermanshah.

Persia more quickly returned to normal after the war than most countries in the Near East. Refugees, though unable to return to their homes and replant their fields, were able to find some work, and within three years most of them had made some kind of adjustment to new conditions.

During the whole period of the war the relief workers served without expense to the relief funds. They were American diplomatic officials, educators attached to the American schools and colleges and doctors and workers affiliated with the Mission Board. To the co-operation of these organizations and the services of the personnel named in the record of service overseas, the Committee is deeply indebted.

The Administrative Committee, consisting of J. L. Caldwell, United States minister to Persia, honorary president; Mr. Gordon Paddock, American consul, chairman; Mr. Arthur C. Boyce, treasurer; Mrs. H. C. Schuler, secretary; Mr. R. M. de Lambert, United States legation secretary, assistant secretary; Dr. S. M. Jordan, president of the American College at Teheran; H. C. Schuler and Dr. Joseph Scott, physician to the Indo-European Telegraph Company, guided and directed the relief program, received the funds transmitted from America and rendered regular narrative and financial statements to the New York office.

Although Mesopotamia was adjacent to Persia the conditions were decidedly different. It was the scene of an early British military attack on the Turkish position. Later it was the base of operations for the British expeditionary force through Persia into the Russian Caucasus. Because it was occupied by the British, a mass of refugees, estimated at 50,000, sought refuge and safety in and about the city of Baghdad. A tent camp was organized and established for the Christian refugees from Urmia at Bakuba. They were destitute mountain dwellers unaccustomed to the torrid heat of the lower Euphrates valley. An American relief worker, E. W. McDowell, supplied by the Committee with relief funds, co-operated with the British.

Three thousand workers, mostly women, were employed washing, carding, spinning, weaving and making garments. Nearly 1,000 orphaned children were gathered into a tent

orphanage, cared for and given training. Eighty girls were placed in the Baghdad hospitals as "potential nurses." Mr. McDowell reported:

> It was with much difficulty at first that any of these girls could be persuaded to enter the nursing service. Many who finally accepted were mountain girls, ragged and unkempt and unpromising in appearance. We gave them nurses' suits of khaki. They undertook the work with interest and the transformation that has taken place in the girls themselves is astonishing. The English nurses speak most highly of them and say they have real gifts for the profession. Even the faces of the girls have taken on a new character, indicative of purposefulness and self-respect.

But the people who fled to Baghdad and Mosul found the land preoccupied, the economic conditions hard and the period of adjustment was much more difficult.

PART THREE
CHANGES FOLLOWING THE ARMISTICE

CHAPTER IX

CHANGED CONDITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST AND THE 1919 RELIEF COMMISSION

THE defeat of Turkey by the Allied forces under the command of General Allenby followed by the Armistice at Mudros, October 30, 1918, created a decided change in the situation throughout the Near East. Constantinople was occupied, and the leaders of the Young Turk party, who had misdirected the destinies of Turkey, fled. A nominal government, favorable and subservient to the Allies, was installed in the Sublime Porte, and Sultan, Mohammed VI, remained in the palace. Each of the Allies was represented at Constantinople by a high commissioner. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the country pending the results of the peace negotiations with the Central Powers. The victorious army in Palestine and Syria was composed of British, Indian and Arab soldiers with a scattering of French troops who occupied Beirut and Adana. The British patrolled the southern portions of Anatolia and controlled the Baghdad railroad line to Constantinople, leaving the interior of Turkey, especially the eastern provinces, unoccupied.

Turkey, after four years of war and tragedy, was opened. The collapse of its military power, which had been the pride of centuries, was complete. A permanent solution to the perennial Eastern Question seemed assured. The Jews expected a homeland in Palestine. The Arabs had been assured of their independence and a kingdom with Damascus as a capital. The Syrians, hopeful of independence, were prepared to accept temporary French influence. The Armenian survivors longed for the opportunity to return to

their ancestral homes and were certain their sufferings would be rewarded by the establishment of a greater Armenia which would extend the boundaries of the Caucasus republic across the eastern provinces of Turkey. The Greeks within Turkey longed to be united with their compatriots across the Ægean. Turkey, crushed and defeated, still assured the Allies that their own interests would be served best by retaining the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire intact and pledged their allegiance to the Allied cause. Many arguments were advanced that suggested the advisability of a mandate for Turkey as a unit and it was offered seriously to the United States. The interests of both England and France would be protected fully by retaining an undivided Turkey. The Mediterranean would be safeguarded from Bolshevik Russia and the claims of Italy and Greece to portions of Anatolia under wartime secret agreements would be submerged. The Turks repudiated the actions of Enver and Talaat and confidently hoped they would be given another chance as a national unity.

The Committee had given much thought and time to the possible results of an early armistice in Turkey on the relief work and its future program. The conditions in the Near East had been appraised very carefully in a volume edited by Prof. Hall and Harold Hatch, called "Reconstruction in Turkey." Moreover, it was increasingly evident, as the reports of the workers overseas slowly but fully revealed the situation among the refugees, that the one outstanding problem in the advent of peace would be the rehabilitation of the refugees now in Syria and the Caucasus to their homes in Anatolia. It was fully realized that these destitute people were without the simple necessities of life and that everything, including transportation, seeds, farm animals, building materials, food and clothes would have to be provided.

It was also very clear that reënforcements of relief personnel would have to be sent out from America to supple-

ment those workers who had remained at their posts, isolated and confined, exposed to danger and disease, during the long years of the war. The relief forces had been depleted by death and illness. Supplies of every description needed replenishing. An expanding temporary program to effect reconstruction results was inevitable, and this would require more personnel and large quantities of supplies. As soon as word was received of the Turkish armistice and assurance was obtained that at least a part of the territory was accessible, a special campaign was launched in America for $30,000,000, to meet the rehabilitation refugee and child needs in the Near East. Simultaneously, arrangements were made for the enlisting of personnel and the purchasing and shipping of materials. Lists of medical equipment and supplies were scrutinized carefully by doctors who had served in Turkey. General commodities were selected to replace the common necessities of life and to provide for the beginnings of reconstruction. Light automobiles were included to meet the difficult transportation problems in the interior. During the war the individual relief stations had developed a necessary local autonomy. They were separated sometimes by hundreds of miles. They had their own medical staff, their own administrative personnel and those who devoted their efforts to children. It was necessary to reënforce each of these units, to provide doctors and nurses for stations without a medical staff and general relief workers for the various tasks connected with the accounting, transportation and distribution of supplies, the care of the children and the maintenance of refugee feeding stations and rehabilitation projects.

At the same time the Committee voted to send a special commission to the Near East to survey the conditions, to ascertain the extent of opportunities and responsibilities. Men were chosen in whom the public would have full confidence. They were men who could be absent from

America only for a few months and were not expected to assume administrative responsibility. The members of the Commission,[1] with the exception of Messrs. Smith, White and Teitlebaum, who followed later, sailed from New York on January 4, 1919, two months after the Turkish armistice.

As most of the territory in which the Committee was operating was at that time under the military control of England, France and Italy, the Commission proceeded first to London. Lord Bryce came down from his country estate, and opened his London house, in order to assist the members in forming immediate and proper connections with the various governmental departments. Lord Bryce, with the newly arrived United States Ambassador, John W. Davis, accompanied the Commission and arranged conferences with the Foreign Office, the Admiralty and the Army. The British controlled most of the territory, including the Baghdad railway, the Taurus tunnels, the wharves and warehouses in Constantinople and in Derindje, at the head of the Gulf of Izmit, the lines of communication and much of the shipping.

During the ten days of conference in London an understanding was reached with the British authorities by which

[1] The Commission was composed of Harold A. Hatch, a New York business man, a member of the Board of Trustees of Constantinople College for Women and one of the two editors of "Reconstruction in Turkey"; Arthur Curtiss James, a business man of New York, a member of the Board of Trustees of Robert College; Professor Edward C. Moore of Harvard University, president of the American Board of Missions; Dr. J. H. T. Main of Iowa, president of Grinnell College at Grinnell, Iowa; Walter George Smith of Philadelphia, president of the American Bar Association; Dr. Stanley White, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions; Rabbi Aaron Teitlebaum of New York, representing the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; Dr. George H. Washburn of Boston, son of a former president of Robert College, director of medical relief with Dr. George H. Richards as assistant; and Dr. William W. Peet, treasurer of the American Board of Missions in Turkey for thirty years, also a member of the Relief Committee in Constantinople and its treasurer, until forced to leave when diplomatic relations with Turkey were broken. The chairman of the Commission was the chairman of the National Committee.

the relief organization was to have the free use of the warehouses, docks, wharves and railways under British control in the Near East, and assurance was given that British officers and men in all areas would co-operate with the relief forces. The Commission proceeded to Paris where they were received equally cordially. The co-operation of French ships, troops and officers in Constantinople, Adana, Beirut and elsewhere was assured.

President Wilson and American members of the Peace Conference, then in session, were advised of the itinerary and purposes of the Commission and arrangements were made to send full reports and maintain contact with American officials while the members were in the Near East. A special representative of the Committee was needed in Paris to keep in constant touch with the Peace Conference and the French government. Arthur Curtiss James was selected for that important task and was given authority to take such steps and perform such acts as, in his judgment, were necessary for the success of the Commission and for the prosecution of the work. By prompt and efficient action he was able to render an invaluable service by arranging for the expeditious transfer and transportation of 250 personnel from Brest to Constantinople. Later, at the request of the members in Constantinople, he selected and appointed a managing director for the relief operations.

From Paris the Commission went to Rome. The American embassy established relations with the Italian government and received expressions of confidence, so that the Commission entered the Near East with assurances of co-operation from the three Allied nations which were in control of much of the territory where relief was being administered.

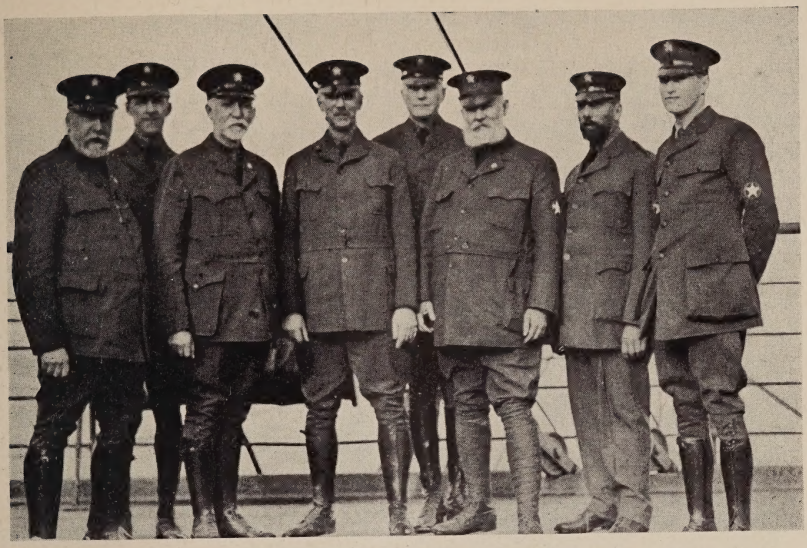
Immediately on arriving conferences were held with Admiral Mark L. Bristol, the newly appointed American high commissioner, and with the members of the local relief com-

mittee which had effectively administered and distributed relief funds for Turkey during the war, while American diplomatic relations were severed.

The first ship with supplies, the *Mercurius,* arrived from New York. In accordance with arrangements with the British authorities the enormous warehouses of the Baghdad railroad at Derindje, on the Gulf of Izmit, about fifty miles distant from Constantinople, were placed at the disposal of the Committee and became the central supply base. The ship unloaded directly into the storehouses which had been evacuated, less than four months previously, by the German and Turkish military.

Theodore Elmer, of the Persian Commission, passed through the Caucasus enroute to Constantinople. He reported indescribable misery prevailing throughout the entire area. For months no word had been received from this region, although it was known that nearly 500,000 refugees from Turkey and Persia were struggling against starvation in an area of unstable government, cut off from the outside world and inaccessible to relief measures until the Black Sea was opened again for commerce. President Main was assigned responsibility for the Caucasus and left immediately for Batum.

The chairman, because of his familiarity with Turkey, accepted the responsibility for penetrating into the interior of Asia Minor, to ascertain the conditions and needs of the refugees and children and open up lines of communication for supplies and workers. Dr. White, who arrived later, was assigned to Syria. Mr. Smith went to the Caucasus and Rabbi Teitlebaum proceeded to Palestine. Dr. Washburn began a survey of the medical situation in anticipation of the arrival of the medical units and supplies. Mr. Hatch, Prof. Moore and Dr. Peet remained in Constantinople at headquarters, attending to the assignment of new personnel arriving from America, the unloading and distribution of



Above: The Relief Commission on board the *Mauretania*, January, 1919. Left to right: William W. Peet, Harold A. Hatch, James L. Barton, Edward C. Moore, T. H. P. Main, George H. Washburn, Arthur Curtiss James and Arthur Sutherland. *Below:* Children of a refugee camp in Port Said arriving for their daily little loaves of bread, waiting patiently with their parents to return to their homes.

Above: Relief workers, en route from Derindje down the Baghdad Railway, stop for an early morning breakfast. *Below:* Trucks waiting for personnel at Ulukishla to complete the additional 500 miles into the interior.

supplies, co-ordinating the activities of the Commission and administering relief in the city itself.

Bread was selling in Constantinople and in cities in the interior for more than twice the normal price. Speculators had cornered the small supply of grain. The Commission secured the co-operation of Howard Heinz, Mr. Hoover's representative, and the assistance of the American Relief Administration. It was arranged to bring shiploads of flour and sell it at cost, less than half the current price. Bakers were furnished with this flour provided they made it into bread and did not resell it. The press was informed that there was ample flour at reasonable prices and that it was being sold daily to any baker who would sell bread at a reasonable price. Each night the flour for the next day's bread was delivered. British and French soldiers watched the bakeries and reported upon the way they carried out the contract. Any baker who did not adhere to his agreement received no flour and was forced out of business by his competitors who were selling cheaper and better bread. The bakers who bought relief flour made fair profits on less capital and the Commission was receiving full cost price for the flour it sold. A carload of flour was sent to Konia. The speculators immediately dropped their prices and the flour was used for the orphanages and relief. Five hundred tons of flour was sent to Samsun, about midway along the southern shore of the Black Sea, which was the port for an extensive grain country in the interior. This was sufficient to break the speculative price of bread.

The first relief train of twenty-five carloads of supplies and personnel, with the Chairman, left the base warehouse at Derindje and proceeded down the Baghdad railroad. Enroute the relief units and supplies, designed for Sivas and Cæsarea, were unloaded for animal transportation overland. At Konia, the historic city of Iconium, Dr. John H. Finley, commissioner of the Red Cross, Palestine unit, and the

chairman met and completed an agreement by which the Near East Relief took over, on March 1, the work of the Red Cross in Palestine and Syria with personnel and equipment.

The chairman proceeded to Aleppo, expecting to find the road open to Mardin and the eastern provinces of Turkey. Upon arriving in Aleppo information was received from the British general in command of northern Syria and south Turkey that Gen. Allenby from Cairo had issued orders that no relief unit should be permitted to pass beyond the line of effective British military occupation. The reason for the order was the fear that the hostile Arabs, Turks and Kurds would seize the Americans and hold them for ransom. The local officers were obdurate and the chairman was obliged to proceed to Cairo and there lay the situation before the highest authority. Gen. Allenby claimed the unsettled and hostile attitude of the people of the interior of Turkey made the entrance of the relief party too hazardous an undertaking. He said he would be held responsible for the safety of any American party advancing beyond the present lines, since the American high commissioner had no military forces at his disposal, and that the safest way to meet the situation was to keep all Americans out.

The chairman stated that when the war broke out there were four American women in Mardin. They were last heard from when a letter was brought out by an American consular officer sent to give them safe exit before the break in diplomatic relations shut them in. These women at that time refused to come out unless they could bring with them the women and girls they had sequestered and were protecting. The consular agent refused to include natives in the party, and so the American women remained. For years they were shut away from the outside world. Rumor had come that one of them in the meantime had died. Their physical condition and needs were unknown. The chairman stated the Committee had an abundance of supplies to carry

to them. The general said: "I will send in and bring them out." The chairman replied: "Unless you are ready at the same time to bring out the women and girls, whom we have every reason to believe are still with them, you cannot get these American women to leave, except by the use of physical force." At the conclusion of the conference an order was sent to the commanding officer at Aleppo to permit the American relief party to go wherever it desired, but wholly at its own risk and without British or other guard. The permission applied to all relief units.

The disaster feared by Gen. Allenby and his officers did not materialize. At the first stop of the relief train, after it had passed the last British frontier guard on the way into the interior, a worker sitting in the door of a freight car exclaimed to the chairman, who was inside: "Well, here are the brigands all right." When the members of the Commission came to the door they saw lined up beside the car eight rough looking, sturdy but ragged individuals, armed to the teeth with rifles, revolvers and daggers. The chairman dropped to the ground from the car and, much to his surprise, the entire brigand line bowed low, with their right hands extended nearly to the ground, then rose, saluted and with their hands upon their hearts pronounced the Turkish word for "welcome." The spokesman then stated that they met the train under instructions from the governor of Mardin, the last railway station on the line, to greet the party, extend an official welcome and to report that the governor would meet them at the station and convey them to his official residence as his guests.

The party was met everywhere with the fullest expressions of oriental courtesy and hospitality. At Kharput the governor came a full day's journey in order to extend personal and official welcome, and to escort the party with honor to the city. The Kurds were as hospitable as the Turks. Even the soldiers at the gendarme stations along

the entire route were drawn up in military form, as the party approached, offered coffee and other refreshments and accompanied the party a distance on the road. Not a single officer or soldier asked for aid of any kind or referred to the party as a relief body. The welcome to the Commission was given because they were Americans and represented the friendly spirit of America.

In each city where the workers had remained during the war the Commission remained long enough to survey the existing conditions of the immediate area, confer with the officials, make arrangements for reënforcement of personnel, grant leaves of absence to some of the workers who had served four continuous years, and prepare a list of the medical, food, clothing and other essential supplies needed from the central warehouse base. Arrangements were made for the opening of relief stations at points of congested need, where American work had been discontinued during the war or where no work had been undertaken previously.

The Commission penetrated the eastern and central provinces of Turkey,—Mardin, Diarbekr, Kharput, Malatya, Sivas, Amasia, Marsovan and Samsun. Representatives of the Commission, who went further east toward the Persian frontier to Van and Bitlis, returning through Erzerum and Trebizond, reported that there were no refugees in these areas, that they found no Armenians were left in the region and the country in general was depopulated owing to the repeated Russian and Turkish invasions and counter attacks. This made it clear there was no need of relief work east of the Mardin-Kharput line.

The complete information gathered by personal observation by the chairman and other members of the Commission was translated immediately into administrative action. Mr. James in Paris selected a manager-director, Maj. Davis G. Arnold, in response to the request of the Com-

mission for a qualified administrator to direct the relief program for Turkish territory. A similar administration arrangement was made for the Caucasus in co-operation with the American Relief Administration in the appointment of Col. William N. Haskell.

The members of the Commission returned to America as soon as the relief needs had been fully surveyed and a definite administrative organization established. The chairman in his report not only set forth the accomplishments of the Commission but recommended methods and policies of operation which were approved and adopted officially by the Board of Trustees and became the basis of future operations in all the relief areas. A summary of this report follows:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

All areas, where refugees and children were segregated, were made accessible to supplies and personnel.

The extent of the distress and the need among the refugees, children, women and girls was carefully noted and arrangements were made for meeting these emergency needs in so far as funds of the committee permitted.

Medical and other supplies were distributed to the places and people where the need was greatest.

The work of the American Red Cross in Syria and Palestine was transferred to the Near East Relief and made a part of the work of the Committee.

Relief operations outside of Russia were placed under the direction of Maj. Arnold and the activities of the organization were systematized and unified.

Relief operations in the Caucasus area were placed under the direction of Col. Haskell and large additional resources of food supplies were secured through the co-operation of the American Relief Administration.

The effects and extent of the tragedy were observed at first hand and the situation and needs were laid before the sympathetic public for more adequate financial support.

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES RECOMMENDED AND ADOPTED

An administrative committee in Constantinople, consisting of U. S. consul-general Bie Ravndal; Oscar Gunkle, director of the Standard Oil Company; and Dr. Wm. W. Peet, were appointed to represent the Committee with Maj. Arnold, managing director. These men counseled with the managing director on all matters pertaining to relief operations and policies. This committee had authority to approve contracts, to deal with governments, to approve appropriations to each relief station, to secure monthly audits, to approve all orders for supplies and all requests for personnel. The members of the committee served without salary but were authorized to have an office and to employ a secretary and keep minutes.

An educational director or directors to take general charge of the education operations in the orphanages, including industrial and agricultural experts for the training of the children.

A medical director for general supervision of medical personnel, hospitals, clinics and public health.

It was further recommended that the greatest care be exercised in the selection of personnel for overseas service with reference to age, health, temperament, technical qualifications and moral character.
That all contracts and agreements be in writing.
That the allocation of work and personnel on the field be left to the managing director and the administration committee.
That appointments for service overseas be for two years instead of one.

The recommended program of the Committee included the following:

The care of orphans and part orphans, both by aiding local, national and private orphanages as well as by conducting orphanages wholly under its own control. This meant supplying shelter, food, clothing, medical care, education, and industrial, moral and religious training.

The establishment of rescue homes for women and girls, with their babies, escaped or discharged from Moslem harems, giving them the same care as the orphans.

The organization of industrial enterprises for the purpose of teaching orphans and rescued women trades as well as to assist in their support.

The provision for medical and sanitary relief, not only for the orphaned children, but as far as possible for the people of the country.

The care and protection of exiled refugees and restoration to their former homes, when practicable, or their settlement in new homes within the limit of available funds.

The Commission concluded that the general relief task was a long and costly undertaking and consequently the Committee should give first consideration to the care of the children without known relatives. This was emphasized in the concluding portions of the Chairman's report:

The hope of the future of the Armenian nation is wrapped up in a large measure with the orphan and woman problem which we are attempting to solve. The children who have survived the terrible ordeal of the past five years have matured prematurely and reveal unexpected recuperative capacity. Thousands of the weaker children have perished; we deal with the survivors.

At the present time we have between 50,000 and 60,000 of these children partly or wholly under our care and dependent upon us, with vast numbers still waiting to be taken on. The most reliable information obtainable indicates that there are many more whom we have not yet been able to reach and for whom we must make provision.

The buildings that we now occupy are mostly temporary and make-shift, not suited to or available for continued occupation. In most places buildings must be purchased or newly constructed and equipped. In parts of the Caucasus, as at Kars and Alexandropol, military barracks, when repaired, are available and well-suited to the purpose. It is evident that we should be prepared to provide relief for at least 120,000 children before the end of 1920.

CHAPTER X

THE CAUCASUS FOLLOWING THE ARMISTICE

THE most critical situation in the whole Near East following the armistice was found in the Caucasus. As soon as the reopening of communications across the Black Sea made this region accessible, it was discovered that famine and disease were rampant and that death was ravaging at an appalling rate the refugee population of half a million men, women and children, unable to return to their former homes in Turkey and Persia. Food supplies were exhausted. Seed grain had been eaten. The masses of refugees from the south had placed a burden upon this poverty-stricken country that had reduced the entire population to starvation rations. The local governments were without funds, their authority precarious and their currency unstable. The coming of the British troops from Persia late in 1918 prevented anarchy.

The American Relief Commission arrived in Constantinople early in 1919 with three shiploads of supplies. Fragmentary reports from the Caucasus at that time conveyed only a partial picture of the misery and distress, but these messages were sufficient for the Commission to deputize Dr. Main to proceed to Batum with thirty workers and a portion of the recently arrived supplies from America.[1]

[1] "The men and women who live and work in Armenia—and they are Americans mostly—do not think politically as a rule. This I discovered —and it was a pleasing surprise. They almost never talk politics; they express only humanitarian hopes. . . .

"I went hungry in Armenia and I associate remembered pangs of my own with all my recollections of the terrible land. I had plenty of food with me, but for days on end I could not eat. It was a physical impossi-

Dr. Main's first report, after arriving in the Caucasus, revealed the enormous size of the relief task and of the amount of money required to cope effectively with the disastrous situation:

Immediately on landing, I had a conference with Gen. Cooke-Collis, military governor of Batum and the Batum district, which was then and is still under British military control. Gen. Cooke-Collis reaffirmed with emphasis the report sent to Constantinople by Gen. Beach, head of the British intelligence office at Tiflis regarding the serious character of the refugee and famine situation in Russian Armenia. It soon became clear to me, on the basis of Gen. Beach's report and Gen. Cooke-Collis'

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bility. And I came to a point, too, when to look upon things that had to be looked upon set my heart to quaking in a horror difficult to describe. . . .

"The pitiful hundreds seemed to me to be constantly weeping. Not profoundly, as in grief, but whimperingly, appealingly, as in unbearable physical distress. A terrible population! Unspeakably filthy and tatter-covered crowds; shelterless, deathstricken throngs milling from place to place; children crying aloud; women sobbing in broken inarticulate lamentation; men utterly hopeless and reduced to staggering weakness, heedless of the tears rolling down their dirt-streaked faces. As a picture of the Armenians most in evidence in Armenia I can think of nothing better than this, unless I turn to other kinds of mobs; large numbers here and there, wide-eyed, eager, hands outstretched in wolfish supplication; teeth bared in a ghastly grin that had long since ceased to be a smile—an emaciated, skin-stretched grin, fixed and uncontrollable.

"Is it any wonder that I could not swallow my food? I threw it to the children in the ravening hordes and started small riots. The children fought together, snarled and clawed at one another for small bites of army biscuit or morsels of bully beef. . . .

"And then I was told that many of them were so starved that solid food was likely to kill them instantly. This was too terribly true, yet in the whole length and breadth of the land there was not one ounce of food of the kind necessary for such cases. At Kars I saw one man die with bread in his teeth. And if you will consent to look with me upon a too awful thing I will add that he showed evidence of having eaten too much grass. Everybody was eating grass. The poor overwrought young officer laughed and said the man had probably got hold of some poisonous weeds. 'Ought to have known how to pick his grass,' he said, 'Ought to have known what was what.'

"I felt sorrier for him than for the dead Armenian. The Armenian would have died anyhow and I should have thought little enough about it except for the fact that he died under my very eyes. All around were dozens of others, dead or dying. The toll in that town that day was said to have been more than one hundred. . . ."—Eleanor Franklin Egan, in The Saturday Evening Post, December 1919.

reaffirmation of it, that there were at least 500,000 refugees in the Caucasus, and that at least 200,000 of them were on the point of starvation. It also took possession of my consciousness, as it had not done before, that the estimate of Gen. Beach to the effect that it would require $12,500,000 to meet relief conditions for the period of six months, was to be taken at full value.

It was obvious to the Commission that private philanthropy, such as the Near East Relief, alone could not furnish the funds and supplies that were necessary to feed a starving population of half a million for many months until harvest. Consequently, the Commission appealed to Howard Heinz, who represented the American Relief Administration for the Near East. Immediately an investigator was dispatched to the Caucasus to make a survey and report back. The information which he obtained was an amplification and reaffirmation of the horrifying conditions in the large refugee centers. As Dr. Main reported to the Commission:

With reference to a statement made by Capt. Tulin, Mr. Hoover's representative who was making a personal investigation of the Caucasus region, I wish to add that as a report of the facts of suffering and of famine and as emphasis on the inadequacy of supplies, both in personnel and material, I agreed with him, or rather, he has agreed with me, for I had given emphasis to all of these facts before he arrived.

Early in May, 1919, Howard Heinz,[1] at the request of

[1] "Mr. Howard Heinz, of Pittsburgh, who was Mr. Hoover's representative in the Near East, with headquarters at Constantinople, believed, as he expressed it to me, that the world was being victimized by the propagandists. He could not believe that such things could happen. He modified in his acceptance of it the testimony even of his own field operatives. He was sending flour up to Batum in as great quantities as could be handled at the time, and in the back of his mind he had a cool-headed business man's idea that the stories he heard were highly colored, to say the least, exaggerated and thrown up in lurid lights for the benefit of such people as are philanthropically inclined only when their emotions are engaged and have been violently played upon. He decided eventually, when the press of immediate business began to ease up a little, to make an investigation on his own account. He went up into Armenia. He returned to Constantinople—and I need repeat only one thing he said. He said it

Mr. Hoover, went into the Caucasus. He was accompanied by Walter George Smith of the Near East Relief Commission and was met by Dr. Main in Tiflis. After an inspection covering two weeks, Mr. Heinz reported from the Caucasus to Mr. Hoover in Paris:

I found a most distressing situation throughout this country, where starvation and misery actually beggar description. It is true that the people are literally dying from lack of food and from diseases caused by malnutrition. There are 500,000 refugees who are in need of food and of these the estimate that from 200,000 to 250,000 are at the starvation point is a reasonable one. I obtained my figures from the British, who are in occupancy in this territory, from members of the Near East Relief committee and from the more reliable of the Armenians themselves.

The lack of food is so serious that the women actually go into the fields and obtain grass roots which they cook into a kind of broth and serve as boiled greens, occasionally getting a bit of rice to mix with it; and this constitutes the principal diet of many. The little children naturally get the worst of this situation because they cannot eat such material and it is among the children that the death rate is the highest.

Typhus has been epidemic during the winter and has taken away thousands, but with the moderation of the weather it is now decreasing, but cholera is making its appearance and the outlook is threatening. Every condition is favorable to its spread. The people are clad in vermin-infested rags, with no possible change or chance of improvement, because there is no clothing of any kind or textile material available at any price, even if the people had the money with which to buy it. Very few crops have been planted in the district, partly because of lack of agricultural implements, but mainly because of lack of seed. Unquestionably most of these people will have to be fed for another year.

As to orphanages, the Near East Committee, in the districts

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over and over again. He hurried away to Paris within a week in order that he might say it there—over and over again.

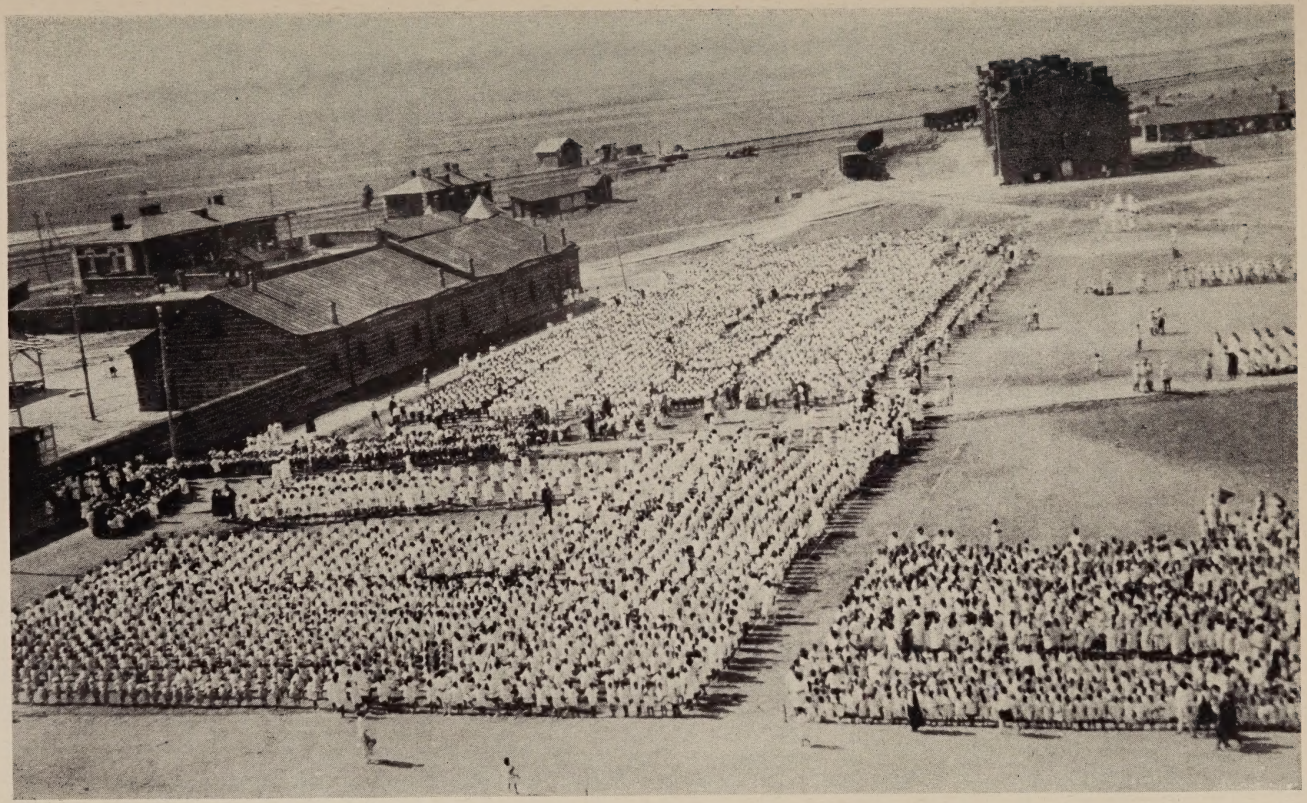
"'Merciful God! It's all true! Nobody has ever told the whole truth! Nobody could!'"—ELEANOR FRANKLIN EGAN, in The Saturday Evening Post, December 1919.

of Erivan, Alexandropol and Kars, have been conducting orphanages which have saved the lives of thousands of children. While I was there they decided to take over all the orphanages in operation by the Armenian government, which had neither the personnel, food nor medical supplies to properly run such institutions.

The Committee continued to send in large supplies of foodstuffs and clothes. Additional personnel were assigned to the administration of the orphanages, which were increasing rapidly in number. At the same time, the requests for American governmental assistance were pressed with vigor. As soon as Mr. Heinz had made his report to Mr. Hoover, chairman of the American Relief Administration in Paris, Alexander Hemphill, chairman of the Executive Committee of Near East Relief, and Henry Morgenthau, began negotiations which resulted in the full co-operation of Mr. Hoover and the American Relief Administration, the appointment of Col. William N. Haskell as joint relief administrator and high commissioner for Armenia, and the selection of a supplementary staff of relief workers, mostly army officers. The Near East Relief agreed to pay all administrative, orphanage and transportation charges, which were estimated at $500,000 per month. Col. Haskell and his mission took charge of the relief activities in August, 1919, and remained in the Caucasus until July, 1920. The Near East Relief workers were given assignments by Col. Haskell and were made responsible for the care of the children and the orphanages.

From January, 1919, to July, 1920, the total relief distributed in Armenia and the Caucasus amounted to 135,764 metric tons, with a value of $28,795,426. Of this total, the Near East Relief contributed $11,155,591, including a special gift from the Red Cross of $500,000. Nearly thirty per cent of the supplies that were used were furnished by the Committee.

The American Relief Administration provided over 50,000



An assembly on the playground of the 30,000 population of the "Orphan City" at Alexandropol, Armenia.

Above: Children waiting in the snow for admission into the "Orphan City," a daily spectacle from early morning until late at night. *Below:* The refugee home, a few feet of earth or stone: its occupants waiting for death or deliverance as they slowly starved.

tons of food with a value of $10,630,872 from the Congressional Relief appropriation, and the Armenian government gave its notes covering this amount. By a later Act of Congress, March, 1920, the United States Grain Corporation contributed 40,000 tons of flour, representing a governmental gift of $4,813,744.

The Commonwealth Fund co-operated in a special feeding program for children through an appropriation of $750,000. Other funds and clothing were received from the American Relief Administration, the Red Cross, the Canadian Fund, for cattle and seed grain, Lord Mayor's Fund and Friends of Armenia.

The United States was the only government to appropriate relief funds for Armenia during this period, although it is generally understood that the British army, during the months of occupation, generously distributed relief supplies from their army stores, and also assisted in the matter of transportation of relief supplies.[1]

This report of the relief operations co-operatively undertaken by the Near East Relief and the American Relief

[1] It was here that I first had an opportunity of judging of the glorious work in the relief of suffering which was being carried out by the great American organization of Near East Relief. Ships arrived at the port of Batum with supplies of food which were subsequently distributed throughout the country, reaching eastward as far as Batum and southward from Tiflis to the famine-stricken districts of Kars and Erivan.

The work of those responsible for this distribution was most arduous, but was in all cases most conscientiously and capably carried out under conditions of extreme difficulty.

A host of people who would otherwise most certainly have been lost, were saved, and an immensity of suffering relieved by the efforts of this most practical of all philanthropical organizations. It cannot fail to be a source of satisfaction to those who from their far distant homes in the United States contributed their share to this glorious work, to know how deeply their efforts were appreciated by all who were in a position to judge. Personally I rejoice that I am able here to find an opportunity of joining in the universal chorus of thanks which still resounds throughout those countries where the fame of American philanthropy is now immortal and where the generosity of the citizens of the United States will for ever remain the one bright spot against a dark background of misery, suffering and death.—From "Adventures in the Near East," General A. Rawlinson.

Administration under the direction of Col. Haskell, does not take into full account the large sums that were expended by the Near East Relief in the early months of 1919, nor the larger sums that were spent in ten years of orphanage and educational work which followed.

During the eight months from September, 1919, to April, 1920, 338 villages and towns were supplied with flour and an average of 332,716 people were fed daily. In the cities, public bakeries were requisitioned and rations of bread were issued instead of flour. In April, 75,000 were receiving food and medical relief daily through the medium of orphanages, soup kitchens, cocoa kitchens, milk stations, hospitals, clinics and dispensaries.

Practically the entire population was dependent on the organization's hospital facilities. They were under the supervision of American doctors and nurses, with staffs of native personnel. At one period, 39 hospitals were maintained, with a total bed capacity of 5,609, classified as follows:

Refugee Hospitals (General Hospitals)	10
Orphanage Hospitals	11
Receiving Hospitals (operated in connection with orphans)	5
Communicable Disease Hospitals	5
Communicable Skin Disease Hospitals (Favus and Scabies)	7
Communicable Eye Disease Hospital (Trachoma)	1
Total	39

Receiving hospitals existed in each district where orphans, before admittance to local orphanages, were deloused, bathed, received clean clothing and were isolated for communicable disease for a period of ten days. The other hospitals listed functioned as their names indicate.

Clinics and public dispensaries functioned under the supervision of members of the American staff. Medical

care and drugs were furnished without charge. The dispensaries averaged 4,066 case treatments daily.

The large number of homeless orphaned children among the refugees necessitated the expansion of the orphanage program and facilities. The dilapidated army barracks at Alexandropol and Kars were reconditioned and utilized. Over 30,000 children were housed, medicated, fed and taught in the orphanages which were established. The relief workers sent out by the Committee in 1919 devoted a large part of their time to the care and training of the orphans.

During this period, the Caucasus was divided into three separate republics—Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Their failure to maintain the original federation weakened their external resistance to Turkey in the south, and later the Bolsheviks from the north. It complicated the problems of relief administration, for food for Armenia was unloaded at Batum and passed over a Georgian railroad.

The economic situation in Armenia slowly improved, but the political conditions became more uncertain in the entire Caucasus area. The Bolsheviks were spreading propaganda. The independent republics were having increasing difficulty in securing funds for their budgets. Internal party differences weakened the political fabric. Early in 1920, Azerbaijan yielded to the Bolshevik pressure from without and sympathetic partisans within and became a part of the Soviet Union. The Caucasus was invaded by Russian Bolshevik troops, and it was questionable whether Armenia and Georgia could defend their independence. Col. Haskell and many of his staff were United States army officers. In order to avoid possible international complications, Col. Haskell and his military aids withdrew to Constantinople and Ernest A. Yarrow was placed in charge of the civilian workers, who remained to carry on the relief activities.

Col. Haskell and his staff rendered notable service in organizing the distribution of rations on a large scale, establishing hospitals and clinics and supervising the care of thousands of children. Millions of pounds of flour and food supplies were handled with dispatch and economy, so that the extreme distress was modified and alleviated, and the people were given an opportunity to prepare a harvest and become self-supporting through their own efforts.

The Near East Relief is very deeply indebted to the United States government, through the American Relief Administration under the direction of Herbert Hoover, for the timely aid and effective co-operation which resulted in the saving of tens of thousands of lives, or, in the words of an Armenian government official, "a whole nation." During this period, over 30,000 children were gathered into orphanages and they continued to be a responsibility which engaged the interests and the efforts of the Committee for ten years.

In November, 1920, the Turkish army, without provocation, launched an attack against Kars and the Armenian Republic. The first League of Nations assembly was in session. The security of the independence of Georgia and Armenia was in jeopardy. It was a subject of international consideration and concern, for these were two of the new nations which had been born out of the travail of the war. While ways and means of insuring their protection were being considered in Geneva, the Turkish army was rapidly advancing through Kars toward Erivan, the Armenian capital. The Turkish general forced a treaty on the defeated Armenian government, which provided for the transfer of the provinces of Kars, Artvin and Ardahan to Turkey. Thus Armenia, with scarcely land enough for her greatly augmented population, was deprived of some of her most fertile grain land and forced to accept an almost indefensible boundary line, following the course of the Arax

River, and Kars and Mt. Ararat became Turkish territory.

The relief work faced uncertain days and conflicting conditions in Kars, with nearly 10,000 children and a staff of workers, who had remained during the Turkish invasion, but were completely cut off from the general warehouses of supplies and from communication with the other workers who were in Alexandropol.

These dramatic events were closely followed and partly intertwined with an impending internal political change by which the Bolshevik party and forces gained control of the machinery of government. This eventual union with Moscow terminated the independence of Armenia.

The director and staff, not knowing what the attitude of the Bolshevik authorities might be toward the Americans, transferred from Alexandropol to Kars, which was again accessible, though Turkish.

In addition, the railroad communications with Batum were broken and no supplies for months entered Armenia. The food situation became desperate, with 20,000 children to feed in Alexandropol and the warehouses daily emptying. Mrs. Harris in her first report voiced the feelings of the three Americans—herself, Mr. Brown and Mr. Martin—who remained during these early Bolshevik days and faced the stern possibility of no food.

On the morning of April 22, 1921, in Alexandropol, we had one-half day's ration of flour for the orphanages and a few beans and rice. It was not possible to further reduce the ration. We simply had to issue it and then, for the following day, we planned to use for the children what American personnel commissary supplies we had left and after that—nothing. As a forlorn hope, we went down to find the mayor and see whether he could suggest anything. At the mayor's office we were informed that he was at the station; that the Turks had withdrawn in the night and that the Bolsheviks from Russia were sending a train in, the first trainload of Russian Red soldiers. We started down to the

station but could not find the mayor, so we waited for the train. When it drew in there were only five cars, all decorated with branches of trees, and with Russian soldiers all over the cars. We had speculated whether there might possibly be a case or two of supplies for us, praying that the impossible would happen. A man in American uniform appeared at the door of a car, and when he saw us he jumped off, saluted, and said in a matter of fact tone, "I have two cars with supplies for the Near East Relief." I am ashamed to say that being a woman, I cried.

Other supplies soon followed. In the spring of 1921, the Bolshevik army had subdued Georgia and the government at Moscow was in control of the entire Caucasus. With the turn of affairs came two immediate advantages: The Armenians again felt a sense of security against another possible invasion from Turkey; also, the railroad from Batum to Armenia again was opened and supplies could be sent in to the relief workers. But the port of Batum had been closed. Communication with Constantinople, the relief supply base, had been broken. No word had been received from the American personnel in the Caucasus for months. Regular boats plying the Black Sea refused to venture into Bolshevik waters. Finally the Committee chartered a boat in Constantinople, guaranteed its owners against possible confiscation, loaded it with emergency food supplies and placed it in charge of one of the personnel, Charles White, with instructions to land the supplies at Batum and to replenish the exhausted orphanage rations. This was the first ship to venture into this Bolshevik harbor. The supplies reached the stranded relief workers just in time to prevent a catastrophe.

There was some reasonable doubt at first relative to the attitude of the Bolshevik government toward Americans and the relief work. All American official representatives and all foreigners in the Caucasus had withdrawn before the occupation of the country by the Red army. The new government did not recognize foreign passports as evidence of

external protection. The United States government would neither visé nor issue passports for any part of Soviet territory. Stern rules and regulations were issued by the local authorities regarding the movements and activities of foreigners within the country. All foreigners were potential enemies. They could not appeal to any government except the Soviet authorities for protection, and as long as they remained in the country, they were subject to the Soviet laws, liable to the same penalties and punishment as Soviet citizens. The representatives of the Committee were brought face to face with one of the most serious decisions the relief work has had to make. For some weeks the future of the relief work hung in the balance, with the weight of thousands of helpless, hungry, orphaned children dragging on the scales. The question of personal safety was removed from the consideration of the problem by each one of the workers volunteering to remain on duty, whatever the consequences.

Soon signs of understanding appeared and the severe orders were somewhat relaxed. The government officials became acquainted with the relief workers. They learned from the people who had been fed that the Americans were not political agents, but messengers of humanity; that they were not interested in the vicissitudes of government, but in the permanence of childhood.

The new government finally accepted the Americans and their work as evidence of good will—not hostility—and of helpfulness and not an obstacle to their purposes. Full privileges were granted the representatives of the Committee to conduct the orphanages. Mr. Yarrow also arranged the transfer of the Armenian children, who had remained in Kars during the Turkish occupation, back to Alexandropol, which had been renamed by the Soviets "Leninakan." The relief activities which had been divided in two in November, 1920, were reunited in 1921, with

Leninakan the largest unit and administrative headquarters, with branches at Erivan, Dilijan, Stepanavan, Karakala and Karakalis.

The work continued with increasing co-operation from the Soviet officials and within a year an agreement was arranged mutually which gave the Committee concessions and privileges not accorded to any other foreign company or organization. The conclusions were of such importance and showed the influence of the humanitarian work on the Soviet government that we quote here the most significant items from the agreement, entered into in 1922:

Agreement between the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia and the Near East Relief

1. This agreement is between the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia, hereinafter referred to in this document as The Government, and The Near East Relief.

2. The Near East Relief is a purely humanitarian organization incorporated by special act of Congress of the United States of America, its purpose, according to its Charter, being:

> "to provide relief and to assist in the repatriation, rehabilitation and re-establishment of suffering and dependent people of the Near East and adjacent areas; to provide for the care of orphans and widows and to promote the social, economic and industrial welfare of those who have been rendered destitute or dependent directly or indirectly by the vicissitudes of war, the cruelties of men and other causes beyond their control."

3. The Near East Relief has no political objective, motive or purpose, and neither represents nor promotes any particular form of political, social or industrial organization.

4. The Near East Relief has no commercial or financial objective. It does not promote, directly or indirectly, any private commercial or trade enterprise, and neither its trustees nor its contributors derive financial or commercial advantage from any of its activities.

5. The American personnel and workers with the Near East Relief derive no personal, financial or commercial advantage from any of its operations.

6. The funds and food supplies of the Near East Relief are contributed voluntarily by individuals as an expression of the spirit of human brotherhood actuated solely by a disinterested desire to help the dispossessed refugees, orphans and other less fortunate people.

7. Acting under the above-mentioned Congressional charter and motive, the Near East Relief and associated agencies have expended more than twenty-five million dollars in the area and for the benefit of the people of the Federated Republics of Transcaucasia.

8. The Near East Relief is willing to the full extent of its resources to continue this ministry of relief, desiring to render any service within its power toward the establishment of prosperity and economic advancement in the area of the Soviet Republic, with the full sympathy and co-operation of the Government.

9. Taking into consideration the above declaration of principles on the part of the Near East Relief, the Socialist Soviet Government of Armenia announces its desire to work in full and unreserved co-operation with the Near East Relief.

10. With the understanding that this paragraph does not modify or change any existing written contracts, the Government hereby confirms the tenancy and unhampered occupancy and use, during the continuation of the Near East Relief activities, of all houses, lands and other properties now occupied or used by the Near East Relief, or that may hereafter be allocated to the Near East Relief.

11. The Government promises to protect the operations of the Near East Relief from interference on the part of unauthorized agents of local authorities and on the part of any branch or department of the Government that may not be represented by the signatures of this document.

12. All relief supplies, local products, machinery, equipment and property occupied or used for relief purposes or by American Near East Relief personnel shall be exempt from confiscation, requisition, taxation or rent.

13. All supplies imported for relief purposes or for the use

of American Near East Relief personnel shall be exempt from custom-house taxes or other duties.

14. The Government agrees to provide without cost railway transportation for the movement from Batum or other port of entry into Transcaucasia of relief supplies and of such personnel as may be necessary for the efficient control and administration of relief operations, and will, for the duration of these relief operations, confirm to the Near East Relief for the sole use of its personnel and transport such railway carriages as the Near East Relief is now operating. The transportation of relief supplies over the railway lines shall have priority over commercial and other shipments when in the judgment of the Near East Relief such preferential treatment is required.

15. The Government will grant to the Near East Relief without cost the use of existing telegraph, telephone, post and courier service, and will secure for the Near East Relief the same priority in the expeditious transmission of messages as may be enjoyed by the Government. The Government will provide for the Near East Relief the free use of water and electric light service where it is available for use in hospitals, orphanages and homes of American relief workers.

16. The Government grants to the Near East Relief the right to cut and transport such amount of fire-wood and charcoal from the forests of Transcaucasia as are required for its relief work, from places designated by the Government and easily accessible to the railroad. The Government will secure for the Near East Relief an adequate supply of fuel oil, lubricating oil, kerosene, benzine, and other oils necessary for relief and transportation.

17. The Government will acquaint the people of the Transcaucasian Republic with the aims and methods of the relief work of the Near East Relief in order to promote mutual understanding and co-operation between the Near East Relief and the people, and to secure the maximum of efficiency in the relief operations.

18. The Government grants to all American Near East personnel engaged in relief work the right of free and unimpeded residence and movement within the Transcaucasian Republics, and freedom from personal search, arrest and detention.

19. To facilitate co-operation between the Government and

Above: The first housing of children in the Caucasus—double deckers, two to a deck. *Below:* As each child when first admitted was a hospital case, the wards were so crowded that three and four to a bed was the usual thing.

Above: Inside and outside the gates of the "Orphan City." *Below:* At any railroad station in the Caucasus, where an occasional crust of bread might be carelessly dropped.

the Near East Relief there may be elected or appointed by the Government a person acceptable to the Near East Relief whose duty it shall be to promote mutual understanding and co-operation between the Near East Relief and the Government. This representative may be changed at any time upon request of either the Government or the Near East Relief, a successor being appointed as provided above.

20. In view of the fact that the Near East Relief is unique and distinct from all commercial and profit-making organizations in that (a) it is engaged exclusively in an effort to help people by giving employment to the unemployed, (b) the major portion of its resources are used for the benefit of orphaned and dependent children, and (c) there is no private profit derived from any of its operations; it is hereby agreed that the Near East Relief shall, for the purpose of labor contracts, be regarded as a Government organization and shall have the same privileges that are accorded to Government agencies.

21. For the receipt and forwarding of mail of the Near East Relief the following regulations are mutually accepted:

Outgoing Mail.—Mail bags containing outgoing mail of the Near East Relief may be inspected and sealed with the Soviet diplomatic seals by the representative of the Government with the Near East Relief referred to in Paragraph 19, or by a person authorized by him. The bags thus sealed are inviolate and are not subject to further inspection, and may be forwarded promptly without delay to their destination.

Incoming Mail.—Incoming mail bags arriving from abroad are to be sealed at the point of entry by the representative of the Near East Relief and the representative of the Government without being opened or inspected. The mail thus sealed is inviolate and will be immediately forwarded to the Near East Relief, seals to remain unbroken until arrival at destination.

22. Representatives of the Near East Relief have the right of free access to steamers arriving at Batum or other port of entry, as well as to those leaving. For this purpose proper credentials will, upon request of the Near East Relief, be issued by the Government. The Government undertakes to secure for the Near East Relief suitable docking and warehouse facilities at Batum or other port of entry for the handling of relief supplies.

23. The present agreement is signed and recorded in English and Russian languages. Both texts have equal value.
Signed for the Government:

A. MRAVIAN
Vice President S. S. Republic of Armenia

N. TERGAZARIAN
Government Commissioner for co-operation with N. E. R.

Signed for the Near East Relief:

C. V. VICKREY
General Secretary and Member of the Executive Committee, New York

H. C. JAQUITH
Member of the Administrative Committee, and Managing Director, Constantinople

JESSE K. MARDEN
Acting Director, Caucasus Branch

Since 1921, the Caucasus has had peace, a consecutive government and security from external aggression. This came at the end of four years of uncertainty, filled with political, economic and social convulsions. Within this area were assembled the largest number of homeless children under the protection and care of the Committee. At one time, 75,000 were on the feeding lists and over 30,000 in institutions. The orphanages were constantly finding homes and releasing children and accepting others. For years it was a rotary process by which the maximum number of waifs were transformed into normal children. The area where disasters threatened to terminate the work on three separate occasions, finally became the largest orphanage center in the world.

The misfortune that befell Armenia in 1926 was not man-made but nature-inflicted. The whole country was shaken for a period of weeks by violent earthquakes which centered with destructive intensity around Leninakan. The orphanage and residence buildings were seriously damaged and made uninhabitable. Orphans and personnel lived in tents and the emergency hospitals were under canvas. The city itself was shaken into ruins and in the surrounding villages

the houses collapsed frequently, burying their owners. It was another beginning again, with greatly added expense for repairing the orphanages and assisting in the rehabilitation of the city and the neighboring villages.

The friendly and co-operative relations between the government and the relief workers have continued uninterruptedly. The officials have been unceasingly helpful. The story of the orphanage program; of the co-operation in organizing nurses' training schools and maintaining itinerant health centers; the agricultural vocational school and the demonstration farm; the supervision of the ex-orphans and the community programs of health and recreation is related in later chapters. The potential influence of these thousands of orphan children, outplaced into hundreds of villages in Armenia, Georgia and Soukhoum, is indicated in the biographies of a few of the graduates. Whether America accepts the invitation of these people of the Caucasus to continue philanthropic work after the emergency program is finished and the last orphan is satisfactorily adjusted into community life, or whether it withdraws after having completed a definite child program, is for the future to decide. The requests for American co-operation to demonstrate the best American practices in vocational, educational and social welfare, have been formally made by the government and are an earnest of the confidence and appreciation of the peoples of the Caucasus for America and her relief aid in the time of great suffering.

CHAPTER XI

FROM 1919 TO SMYRNA EVACUATION

FOUR long years of uncertainty followed the Turkish Armistice, for peace did not come to the Near East until 1923. Even while the Western diplomats were conferring in Paris, relative to the German peace terms, they took incidental action on a pressing question in the Near East—the occupation of Smyrna.[1] Their decision precipitated a

[1] "The fatal decision was precipitated by the public disagreement between Italy and the other Powers over the Adriatic. On the 24th of April 1919, the Italian Delegation withdrew from Paris. They were back again by the 5th of May. On the 29th March, the Italian claim in Anatolia had been staked out by a naval and military occupation of Adalia, and during the interregnum at Paris the Italian forces began to occupy one point after another on the coast from Adalia northwestwards in the direction of Smyrna. The diplomatists came back, but the occupations went on, and the local representatives of the other Powers took alarm. Smyrna was at Italy's disposal according to the agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne, and the installment of an Italian garrison there would more than compensate for flaws in the legal validity of a scrap of paper. The only certain way to keep the Italians out was to forestall them. Could this be done under the armistice, signed on the 30th October 1918, with Turkey? According to Article 7 of this instrument, 'The Allies have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any strategic situation arising that threatens the security of the Allies.' That was good enough, but what troops to send? The telegrams passed to and fro between Constantinople and Paris. The Porte was informed that Allied troops were to be landed at Smyrna for the maintenance of order. An Allied naval squadron left the Bosporus for Smyrna, with Admiral Calthorpe. the British high commissioner, in command. The local Allied control-officers were instructed to disarm and remove the Turkish troops remaining in the city, in accordance with Articles 5 and 20 of the armistice. The Greek troops went on shore, under the guns of the Allied warships, the following morning.

"There is no doubt that the 'Big Three' were morally as well as technically responsible for the consequences of this particular decision, for they cannot plead that they were badly informed. The suggestion of a Greek landing at Smyrna had been aired in official circles for some weeks before it was carried into effect, and had evoked emphatic comments and fore-

new conflict and war between the growing nationalism of a new Turkey and a deserted ally, Greece, the ambitious defender of Christian compatriots in Anatolia.

The events which crowded into these intervening years culminated in the disaster at Smyrna and the flight of 1,400,000 refugees from Asia across the Ægean into Europe. The Near East was the scene of international diplomacy at its low ebb. The failure of the Allies to seal their victory with a peace treaty and enforce a permanent solution of the Near Eastern question gave Turkey another chance and allowed the enemy to admit defeat and surrender during the World War, only to become, within four years, the conqueror and dictator of the final terms of peace at Lausanne.

At the time the Treaty of Versailles was signed, in the summer of 1919, the Allied high commissioners, armies and navies dominated Constantinople and the Dardanelles; the British operated the Baghdad railroad; the French had troops in Cilicia, Mardin, Marash, Aintab, Adana and Mersina; the Italians occupied Adalia and a small hinterland; the Greeks had taken over, in the name of the Allies, the administration of Smyrna and the Greek army was entrenched in an enlarged circle toward the interior. The Greeks also occupied eastern Thrace. The vast region known as the interior of Turkey was nominally subject to the Allied high commissioners and the Allied-directed Turkish government in Constantinople. But in reality it was the potential homeland of the new Turkey. Gen. Mustapha Kemal Pasha was sent by the Allies to the in-

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casts from the local representatives of the several Powers who were controlling the execution of the armistice on the spot. These representatives cannot be blamed for having reported, as they were in duty bound to do, the danger of an Italian *coup de main* upon Smyrna. They could not know the diplomatic situation at Paris, or foresee that a Greek occupation would be the safeguard selected by their governments."—From "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey" by ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

terior with instructions to disarm and demobilize the Turkish troops and to destroy the military supplies. The only part of the commission which he executed was the going into the interior, where he organized with other Turkish patriots, who assembled first at Erzerum and later at Sivas on September 9, 1919, a Nationalist Congress.[1]

As soon as the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were effective, France was given a mandate of Syria and England was given the mandate of Palestine and Iraq, and the Arabs, under Emir Feisal, were established, as promised by the British, in independence with Damascus as the capital. This proved to be temporary when France extended its Syrian mandate eastward and forced the Arab king to evacuate Damascus and reallocate in Iraq.

American interest in the Near East during the Peace Conference and immediately following was not altogether confined to the relief work. Various proposals were made by the Allied diplomats and others for the United States to assume some mandatory responsibility for all or parts of Turkey. At the request, and by special appointment of President Wilson, Henry Churchill King and Charles R. Crane were delegated to report to the President on the

[1] In view of the exterior and interior perils which threaten our country, the national conscience has become awakened and given birth to our Congress which has reached the following decisions:

"All of the Turkish territory within the frontier outlined October 30, 1918, between the Ottoman government and the Allies and inhabited by a preponderate majority of Turk population, will form an undivided and inseparable whole.

"Against all intermeddling or occupation of no matter what part of the Ottoman territory and in particular against every movement tending toward the formation, at the expense of the mother country, of an independent Armenia and of an independent Greece on the Ardin, Magnesia and Balikshisar front, we are absolutely resolved to resist and to defend our rights. It is indispensable that our Central government shall submit itself to the national will. In consequence our Central government shall proceed, without further delay, to convoke the Nationalist Assembly and submit all the decisions to be taken with a view of safeguarding the interests of the nation."—The Congress of Sivas, September 9, 1919.

attitude of the people toward America, especially the Syrians.

During the summer of 1919, Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord organized and directed an American Military Mission to Turkey and Armenia, at the request of the President, to study the conditions and the implied obligations of a possible mandate for an enlarged Armenia or for all of Turkey, including the Transcaucasus. The fact that American troops would be required to establish and maintain authority and the rapidly developing opposition to all international responsibilities made the acceptance of any mandate responsibility out of the question.[1]

The relief and orphanage work continued in each of the larger centers in Turkey.[2] Armenian refugees, under French protection, returned in large numbers to the rich, fertile plains of Cilicia and to their homes in the cities of Aintab and Marash. Within one year they had accomplished the almost impossible. They came back without goods or money but in this short period they were all self-supporting, except the orphaned children, and adult relief work in that area terminated. Partial prosperity returned to Smyrna, so that within twelve months the local organizations were able to reassume complete responsibility for the orphanages and the hospitals which the relief workers had organized. The economic conditions in Constantinople improved under Allied control and the Committee was able to apply its full efforts to the orphanage program, co-operating with the local Armenian, Catholic, Greek, Jewish and Turkish committees

[1] "The visit of the mission has had a considerable moral effect in securing the safety of Christian lives and property pending action by the Peace Conference."—From Report of Maj.-Gen. Harbord of the American Military Mission to Armenia.

[2] Relief units were stationed at Adana, Aintab, Angora, Brusa, Cæsarea, Constantinople, Derindje, Diarbekr, Izmit, Kharput, Konia, Malatya, Marash, Mardin, Marsovan, Samsun, Sivas, Smyrna, Tarsus, Trebizond and Urfa.

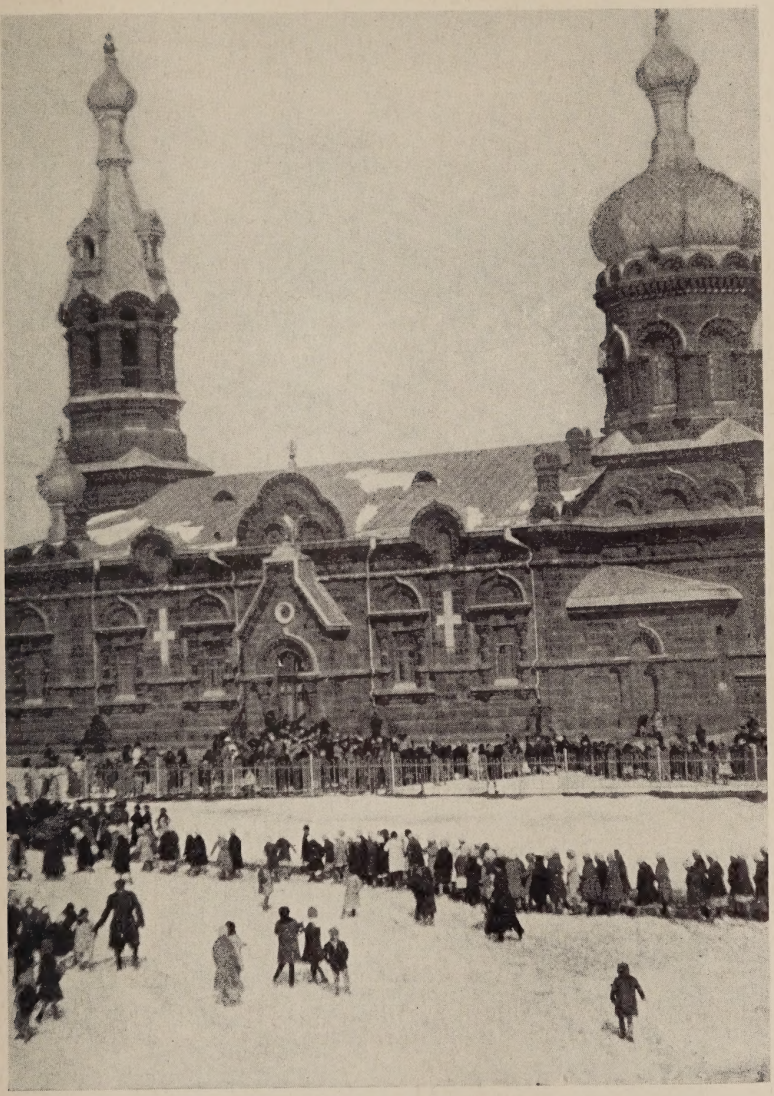
and institutions. The interior stations maintained their orphanage and medical activities and aided the few refugees who ventured to return without any assurance of protection.

The Nationalist movement developed and organized a government at Angora independent of the existing Turkish government in Constantinople. The interior was mobilized for military action against the Armenians in the Caucasus, the French in Cilicia and the Greeks in Smyrna. A state of war was declared against all the enemies of Turkey who occupied any part of Turkish territory. Movement from place to place in the interior was forbidden and a strict censorship with the outside was enforced.

The relief units were practically isolated from each other and all were partially cut off from communication with Constantinople. Special permission was needed for the entrance of new personnel. Most supplies were subject to duty. Efficiency of administration necessitated a resident representation of the organization in Angora to take up the unit problems with the National government officials. Miss Annie P. Allen, familiar both with the language and the people, became the first unofficial American accredited to the Nationalist government. She won the confidence and held the respect of official Angora.[1]

The Allies finally presented the Treaty of Sèvres for the signature of the Turkish delegates representing the Constantinople government on August 10, 1920. It was nearly two years after the armistice at Mudros and during this period a Turkish government hostile to the Turkish government in Constantinople and hostile to the Allies had

[1] "Miss Annie P. Allen,
Representative of the American Near East Relief, Angora.
I have the honor to declare that for the requests and demands you are to make as the representative of a humanitarian institution be sure that all facilities within our laws will be rendered to you.—M. KEMAL, President of the Grand National Assembly."



Children of the "Orphan City" on their way to church.

Above: Kevork V, head of the Armenian church, receives a few of his orphan parishioners. *Below:* The Cathedral at Etchmiadzin, Armenia, the ancient seat of the Armenian religion dating back to the third century, over which the aged Catholicos presided.

been established at Angora, and it not only refused to sign the treaty but absolutely repudiated the Turkish delegates who signed away their country. For the Treaty of Sèvres provided for the control of the Straits, including Constantinople, by an international commission; eastern Thrace was credited to Greece; the fate of Smyrna was to be determined by a plebiscite; the Dodecanese Islands were given to Italy; Kurdistan was granted a plebiscite, and President Wilson was asked to determine the boundaries of greater Armenia, presumably extending westward to include Trebizond and south to include Erzingan, Bitlis and Van. This is usually referred to as the abortive treaty. Most of its provisions were never made effective, for the Allies refused to enforce its terms and the Kemalist government in Angora repudiated it completely.

Late in 1920 the Turkish army attacked the Republic of Armenia, captured Kars and forced the Armenians to accept terms of peace which ceded a large part of the fertile grain lands in three provinces to Turkey. Instead of being rewarded by an extension of her boundaries, Armenia was forced to relinquish nearly a third of her small territory. These military events had their effect upon the relief program, which underwent a complete reorganization in the Caucasus to meet the changed conditions.

During the last months of 1919, 120,000 Russian refugees arrived in Constantinople. General Wrangel's White army had collapsed and they had fled to safety across the Black Sea. Boatloads of hungry, exposed civilians and soldiers anchored in the Bosporus awaiting the Allied decision as to where they could be disembarked. The crisis demanded the united efforts of every relief agency in the city. Fortunately, the Red Cross, South Russian Unit, had its base of supplies in Constantinople. Immediately under the efficient direction of Maj. Claflin Davis, the resources of this unit, both in supplies and personnel, were devoted to the Russian refu-

gees in Turkey. By a common understanding the Near East Relief continued relief responsibility to the local Christian and Moslem population. Some members of the Red Cross continued the relief in Constantinople for the Russians until 1923, when the local chapter assumed further responsibility.[1]

The frontier of Allied occupation included the Cilician city of Marash, prior to the war a center of American and German missionary and educational activities. Here, as elsewhere, Armenians returned under the protection of a foreign flag and the relief operations were expanded to meet the increasing need of hospitalization and orphanage care.

The French had encouraged, unfortunately, the formation of an Armenian defense corps. As this was practically a mountain outpost and far removed from the railroad and reënforcements, the well-armed Turkish patrols incessantly annoyed the inhabitants by raiding parties and finally lay seige to the city in January, 1920. The French were forced ultimately to withdraw in the midst of winter when the passes were covered with snow and the panic-stricken people again marched to exile, a pathetic caravan of helpless, struggling, dying refugees. The scenes of these tragic days are described by Dr. Mabel Elliott, the American doctor in charge of the relief hospital in Marash:

> With trembling hearts we stumbled out into the darkness. This was at 10:30 P.M., February 10, 1920.
>
> It was difficult going as soon as we left the buildings behind us, for the darkness blinded up and we did not follow the road, but went across rough fields, guided by hundreds of other marchers as lost as we were. We were not taking the long road to Aleppo,

[1] Harold C. Jaquith, assistant secretary of Near East Relief, attended the first meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, 1920, and was asked by the Executive Committee to proceed to Constantinople and the Caucasus for administration purposes. In March, 1921, he was appointed a member of the Administrative Committee and managing director of the Constantinople-Turkish area, which was extended later to include Greece.

but were to strike out over the mountains in an attempt to reach Islahai.

Such a night; A turquoise sky flooded with moonlight over a white world, and across the snow, stretching as far as the eye could see, a line of camp fires, horses, wagons, soldiers, refugees, camels, donkeys, carts, all a mixture and confusion of sound and sight. We sat down to rest by a fire of straw and got colder and colder. The poor soldiers kept coming in with their frozen, wet feet to get a taste of fire, which was hardly warmer than candlelight. We had rested less than three-quarters of an hour when the order came to march. We did not stop again until late the next morning, and by that time we had begun to pass children and some women, dropping in the snow, unable to go on.

. . . On again, with no pause and no more food until we reached El Oghly at three o'clock that afternoon. . . . We slept in a mud house that night—At five in the morning we were on the march again. . . . From the top of a mountain the sight of that column was one never to be forgotten. Four battalions with their guns and a train of 300 camels, and behind that, a stream of refugees going up and down the hills into the far, blue distance.

That night we camped at Bel Puvar. . . . At five o'clock, in the darkness, we were awakened—we must start at once; there was a blizzard. The swirling snow was so thick we could see only a few feet, and that with difficulty. Four thousand men were trying to get into line, more than 5,000 refugees were struggling in the confusion and terror. Screams of horses, shrieks of women who could not find their children, wails of children wallowing in the snow alone, creaking of gun carriages, shouts of officers and men, sudden looming up of camels that grunted and bit, all coming out of a swirling whiteness. I thought of my nurses, of my patients from the hospital, women with new-born babies, struggling in that madness. Impossible to find anyone, to do anything. We got somehow into the frantic line and started on the long tramp. It lasted fourteen hours. In a very few hours we were passing the dying all along the way.

The column was quite quiet. There was hardly a sound for hours, except the scream of someone falling. Always, just when endurance broke, they screamed once as they fell. The column went on silently, leaving them there.

Armenian women have a way of carrying children on their backs, holding the two hands clutched against the mother's breast and the child's weight on the bent back. When children are carried in this way, almost always one sees their little bare feet, side by side. Working with refugees, I see this perhaps a hundred times a day, and never without remembering the road to Islahai. That morning we passed hundreds of mothers, carrying their children in this way. First a vague darkness in the swirling snow, then the mother's bent body, and the child's little bare feet. I would reach out and tuck them up in a corner of shawl or blanket as I went by. I do not know how many hours we had been walking, when I found the first dead child on its mother's back. I walked beside her, examining it; she trudged on, bent under the weight, doggedly lifting one foot and then the other through the snow, blind and deaf to everything. The child was certainly dead, and she did not know it. I spoke to her, touched her, finally shook her arm violently to arouse her. When she looked up I pointed to the child and said, "Finish." The mother seemed not to understand at first, trudged onward for a few steps, and then let go the child's hands. The body fell, and the mother went on, blind and deaf as before, all her life in that lifting of one foot after the other through the snow.

This was the first one. There were perhaps fifty more after that, always the same. No complaint, no protest, a little time to understand what had happened, and then a dumb letting go of the hands and the weight. Strength was so exhausted in these women who had carried their children so far, that there was no emotion left, simply the last shreds of animal endurance. If I had not spoken to them, they would have carried the dead until they dropped and died in the snow.

In time I, too, was a blind machine moving forward, tucking in no more feet, examining no more children. We had been walking ten hours, and I was probably one of the most fortunate of the thousands of women who followed the French out of Marash. I had more reserve strength on which to draw. Still, there was little of it left in the end. I thought of nothing, cared for nothing, simply struggled onward and tried to keep my balance. It seemed to me that we three were walking on a very narrow ledge between two precipices, and that if I lost my balance and fell we would all go down thousands of feet. . . .

We had been going on thus blindly in the darkness when we

heard a high, long whistle. The whole column, thousands of of throats, answered it with a terrible sob. A train whistle! Islahai!

Five thousand Armenians had left Marash, and perhaps a third of them lived to reach Islahai. . . . To understand the lives of these Armenians, remember that the evacuation of Marash was not an isolated calamity. . . . These people had lived through the deportations in Turkey during the war; for six years they had been suffering and dying as they suffered and died on the road to Islahai. It was those few months of anxious peace in Marash that was the novelty to them; those few months of patiently beginning again to rebuild ruined houses and broken lives. And the evacuation of Marash was the beginning of the old story again—the beginning of the wanderings and sufferings which are not ended yet. For those who lived to reach Islahai went on to Smyrna, and Izmit, and the villages of Anatolia that were held by the Greeks.

The French saw the unmistakable handwriting on the Cilicia plains. The Nationalist troops pressed closer and more persistently against the French outposts, pressing their advantage, then retiring into the impregnable passes of the Taurus Mountains. French diplomats had returned to the controversy with England. The French people were tiring of the endless expenses in the Near East. H. Franklin Bouillon, representing the French government, signed a separate agreement with the Turkish Nationalist government at Angora on October 20, 1921. The state of war terminated. The French withdrew entirely from Cilicia, evacuating Adana and the other cities, into Syria. This precipitated another refugee problem. The Armenians who had returned, following the Allied occupation of Cilicia, were again homeless, wandering, fleeing from their reconstructed homes into Syria, protected by the retiring troops.

The hospitals that had been organized, the orphanages that had been established, were engulfed by the flood of refugees. An effort was made to maintain the orphanages, knowing that the incoming Turkish officials would grant the

organization all necessary facilities as in other relief stations within the Nationalist territory. The native workers refused to remain, believing this their one chance of safety. The children became restless and on the last days of the evacuation begged to go with their compatriots. They could not be denied.

This sudden influx of a multitude of Armenian refugees from Cilicia to Aleppo and Beirut overburdened Syria, which was struggling economically to recover from the World War. Refugee camps became the plague spots of the cities and provided the most miserable kind of shelter amid unhealthful surroundings for the unfortunate exiles. These same hoveled shacks, massed into refugee camps, remain in 1930 an unsolved problem of distressing human habitation, a challenge to the energy and the privately furnished funds of the League of Nations Settlement Commission.

The orphans were transferred from Marash, Aintab, Adana, Tarsus, Mersina, Mardin and Urfa, into Syria. This enforced move entailed a complete readjustment and reorganization. Children and institutions, administered from Constantinople, living in a native environment, in adequate quarters, were suddenly uprooted and transferred to a strange country with a strange language, without buildings immediately available, thrust into an area whose relief program was nearing completion. This new refugee problem with the attendant orphanage question again made Syria one of the areas of major activities. Within a year the orphanages of Kharput, Malatya and Diarbekr were transferred from the interior of Turkey to Syria and the orphanage population rose to nearly 12,000 children.

The relief work within the territory of the Great National Assembly at Angora was handicapped by war conditions and the usual restrictions on communication and transportation. At each large station there was a complete unit—

director, doctor, nurse, orphanage supervisor, and accountant. It was possible to secure the essential food from the local markets at a price below the cost of importation. The buildings loaned by the American Board of Missions were well adapted to orphanage and hospital activities and provided comfortable living quarters for the personnel. The government at Angora, engrossed in the conduct of a war, a veritable life-and-death struggle against the French in Cilicia and the Greeks in Smyrna, granted the Committee the necessary operating privileges and courtesies:

Agreement between the Turkish Nationalist Government, Angora, and the Near East Relief.

The Near East Relief is an American philanthropic Committee incorporated by special act of the Congress of the United States and conducting its humanitarian works within the territory of the Great National Assembly, Constantinople, Syria, Caucasus and Persia.

1. For the effective administration and co-operation all the relations of the Near East Relief with the government shall be through one office and that office shall be the minister of interior at Angora.

2. The government through the minister of interior assures the Near East Relief of effective communication between Constantinople and the Near East Relief workers within the territory of the Great National Assembly. When censorship is required by the government adequate arrangements will be made to facilitate the regular movements of incoming and outgoing communications.

3. The school permissions now granted to the orphanages supported by the Near East Relief will be continued and new permits will be granted to all orphanages not at present having schools upon presentation of proper applications.

4. When American doctors are required for American personnel, orphanages, or the supervision of hospitals at present operated by the Near East Relief they shall receive permits to practice within this area after the presentation of proper American credentials.

5. The buildings and property now occupied by the Near East

Relief and used, shall be free from civil or military requisition or unfriendly interference.

6. The managing director or his representative shall have the privilege of visiting the various stations, the necessary formalities being made through the regular channels.

ALI FETHI,
Minister of Interior.

H. C JAQUITH,
Managing Director, Near East Relief.

The fact that the United States had no diplomatic relations with the Nationalist government at Angora necessitated establishing direct contacts with all the governmental departments and ministers. These personal relations with the leaders guiding the affairs of the new Turkey continued an important factor in the relief work and its future adjustments.

By the summer of 1922 it was apparent that the interior of Anatolia, from Konia to Kharput, from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, was destined to be increasingly Turkish. While a small minority population was tolerated in certain larger centers, it was evident that the slogan "Turkey for the Turks" was an approaching reality.

The local relief personnel in the interior were restless. It was impossible to train the Greek and Armenian orphans to economic self-support and citizenship and outplace them into an uncongenial environment. Syria had opened her frontiers to the orphans and refugees from Cilicia. The organization had expanded facilities and personnel to cope with the new problem. Syria agreed to accept the children from the more inaccessible interior stations of Kharput and Malatya and arrangements were made for the transfer by the southern route of 5,312 children. It was a journey of between three and four hundred miles, on foot for the older children, on donkeys for the younger, with supplies going forward by camel pack trains. The Turkish officials co-

operated all the way to the frontier and then the French aided in their transfer southward toward Beirut, where new orphanage homes awaited them. The other interior stations continued operations uninterruptedly until a final transfer was made of all remaining Greek and Armenian orphans to Greece.

The prelude to the Smyrna disaster was the landing of Greek troops in May, 1919, in the name and under the authority of the Allies. For nearly a year the occupation and administration was confined to a relatively small area in the immediate hinterland. In June, 1920, the Greeks, with the permission of the Allies, extended their lines and advanced into the city of Brusa, the ancient Turkish capital. This was followed at intervals by a series of military actions stubbornly resisted by the growing strength of the Nationalist army. In the summer of 1921 a supreme effort was made by the Greek army to penetrate Anatolia as far as Angora and if possible break the force and morale of the Turkish army. After a historic battle lasting three weeks along the Sakkaria river the Greeks were forced to withdraw to their defensive position along the Anatolia railroad. Meanwhile the Allies had forsaken the Greek cause. The Supreme War Council of England, France, Italy and Japan declared their complete neutrality in the Græco-Turkish war. Early in 1922 the Greek government advised the Allies of its inability to hold the situation in Asia Minor unsupported. The conditions in Greece had undergone a great change. Venizelos had been defeated in an election. King Constantine had been recalled. Both England and France used this as a further excuse for standing aloof. The Greek soldiers who had been in active service for ten years since the Balkan war were tired and anxious to demobilize.

In the summer of 1922 the Greek troops in eastern Thrace advanced on Constantinople, then nominally ruled by the Sultan, but their movements were halted by the

Allied officers in control of the city. During the last days of August, Mustapha Kemal ordered a Turkish attack on the entire Anatolian front of some three hundred miles. The Greek defense collapsed and the entire army retreated. Within ten days the Turkish troops had marched two hundred miles and occupied Smyrna and the Greek army had hastily withdrawn from Anatolia and embarked in disorder for Greece. But unfortunately this was not the end of the drama. The fate and flight of the civilian non-Moslem population, commonly called the Smyrna disaster, aroused the interest and sympathy of the world and necessitated the immediate marshaling of relief forces to fight the new enemies of starvation, disease and exposure among 1,400,000 refugees.

The critical change in the situation came with unexpected suddenness. There was no opportunity for special preparation, nor to secure either additional personnel or supplies, for only a few days elapsed between the collapse of the Greek army and the onrush of refugees into the city of Smyrna. A local relief committee immediately was formed composed of American residents—the consul, teachers from International College, the International Institute for Girls, workers from the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., representatives of the American tobacco and oil companies and other business interests. It soon became apparent to the local committee that its resources were wholly inadequate to cope with the increasingly desperate situation, for the numbers of refugees mounted by tens of thousands daily.

An emergency dispatch was sent to Constantinople reporting the influx of an army of refugees and the exhaustion of the local funds and resources. The first appeal was followed by a second, urgently requesting a relief unit to co-operate with the local organization in dealing with the desperate situation.

The American high commissioner, Admiral Bristol, met

In 1922-23 Near East Relief evacuated 22,000 children from orphanages in interior Turkey to Syria and Greece. These two pictures show part of the 5,000 children from Kharput en route on donkey back and foot.

Above: Children from orphanages in the interior waiting for trans-shipment from Constantinople to Greece. *Below:* Smyrna after the first day of the fire.

with the representatives of organizations having branches in Smyrna, the managing director of Near East Relief and the director of the Red Cross Russian Mission. The managing director offered to send immediately a relief unit and relief supplies. Admiral Bristol assigned a special destroyer for the unit composed of the managing director, Dr. Wilfred Post, Agnes Evon and Sarah Corning, nurses, and Maj. C. Claflin Davis of the Red Cross. Supplies of bread, flour, milk and medicines were taken from the Constantinople warehouse of the organization.

The unit arrived on the morning of September 9. The city was in a panic and destitute of food. The Greeks had evacuated the preceding evening; the expected Turkish troops did not arrive until noon. The fire, which completely destroyed the Christian quarters of the city, starting on the afternoon of the thirteenth, turned the previous panic into a riot of terror, helplessness and despair.

A striking incident took place during the three days of the fire that demonstrated the permanence of earlier impressions made upon a group of boys in one of the local orphanages in the city which during 1919-20 had been under the supervision of American relief personnel and supported from relief funds. This orphanage had been transferred to local full responsibility when the economic conditions had improved and for more than two years no American relief work had been necessary in the city. At daybreak, after the first horrible night of fire, anguish and death, two American flags were visible on the quay from the bridge of the destroyer which served as the relief base. An investigation was made and some two hundred boys were discovered huddled together in a compact unit under the two flags, which had been kept from the former days when they were in an American orphanage in Smyrna. Under this self-proclaimed protection they remained during the three fearful days. They did not need to explain to the passing, curious Turk-

ish soldiers; their story was self-evident. The resemblance between the flag on the destroyer at anchor in the harbor and the banner which floated over the frightened mass of childhood on the quay was unmistakable. When the destroyer left for Constantinople a few days later these same boys were safely huddled on the deck and in the bunker rooms, being fed by the generous and friendly sailors.

The whole non-Turkish population of the city was rendered homeless and destitute by the burning and complete destruction of the non-Moslem section of Smyrna. The entire Christian population of the hinterland, composed of hundreds of thousands of Greeks and Armenians, had fled before the advancing Turkish army into the city seeking safety and protection. Some escaped in boats to the friendly Greek islands but most of them were helpless, terror-stricken refugees, surrounded by an implacable enemy that seemed committed to their expulsion from the city and the country.

After the fire the only solution to the vast unwelcome refugee population was evacuation. There was only one place they could go and that was to Greece which would not close its doors. The Turkish authorities facilitated the exodus of the women and children, but no Greek ships dared venture into Smyrna harbor for fear of confiscation. The energy and ingenuity of Asa K. Jennings, a member of the local relief committee from the Y. M. C. A., solved the question. Admiral Bristol assured him of the presence and aid of American destroyers at all points of embarkation. The Turkish officials agreed to recognize accompanying ships as under convoy and protection. The Greek government furnished the necessary ships under these conditions. As many as 45,000 refugees were removed from Smyrna daily until the entire surviving Christian population was transferred to the Greek islands of Chios, Samos and Mytilene and to Salonika and Athens.

The peace time service of the American navy is deserving of the widest possible recognition. It is a chapter in the naval history that has never been as yet adequately told. The American high commissioner in Constantinople, Admiral Bristol, had assigned to him a squadron of destroyers. As many as twenty naval vessels were in the eastern Mediterranean at a time. Regular communication was maintained between Black Sea and Mediterranean ports with relays of destroyers stationed in all the principal harbors. These were the days following the war when commercial transportation was struggling back to service. They were days when peace had not come to the Near East and ordinary vessels did not dare to venture into many of the ports. American business and relief personnel were transported by the courtesy and efficiency of the navy. Radio communications were maintained uninterruptedly by means of the destroyers stationed in each harbor of importance in constant contact by radio with the base-ship in Constantinople.

During and following the events at Smyrna the service of the navy was strikingly conspicuous. Destroyers carried refugees and children to points of safety the night of the fire. Relief supplies and personnel were carried to the scenes of need. Greek ships brought to embark the refugees were escorted by American destroyers to assure their safe departure from Turkish ports, and the officers and men assisted in the humanitarian and orderly loading of the refugee ships. The co-operation of the American high commissioner, Admiral Bristol, was always unstinted, timely and sympathetic, and this spirit was reflected in all the officers and men.

The victorious Turkish army moved north toward Constantinople and was halted by the British decision not to evacuate the Straits and if necessary to defend Chanak and Constantinople. An armistice was signed between the

Turkish delegates and representatives of the Allies at Mudania, October, 1922, which provided for the complete withdrawal of the Greeks from eastern Thrace within a month and the occupation of the territory by the Angora government, and the temporary occupation of Constantinople by the Allies during the peace negotiations which were arranged to take place at Lausanne.[1]

These movements of the Turkish army were preceded by a general flight of the non-Turkish populations from Brusa, the Marmora Islands and eastern Thrace and augmented the enormous relief problem on every island in the Ægean and in all the cities and ports of Greek Macedonia.

Prior to 1922 the Board of Trustees had largely discontinued adult relief work. The necessity seemed less acute. The care of a vast number of orphaned children had become the first responsibility. The resources of the Committee were not adequate for all the demands. Yet, when the call came from Constantinople and Smyrna for emergency supplies and food to meet the unprecedented situation, the Executive Committee, after conferring with the Red Cross and learning they were not ready to act immediately, cabled authorization to its representative in Constantinople to do whatever was necessary and possible to save life. There was no alternative, since there was no other organization with a staff of relief workers and supplies available to render immediate assistance. The Committee believed that the people of America would sustain this decision in reopening general relief activities and when the facts were known that they would respond to this new and tragic appeal for help.

While the Committee undertook to meet the immediate situation by emergency measures it found itself, by a chain of rapidly moving events, involved in all the phases of the

[1] "The Kemalist Movement, which has made a new Turkey which bears no resemblance to the Ottoman Empire of 1914, and which differs greatly from the Nationalist Turkey of 1920-22, has met with astounding civil, military and diplomatic successes."—Modern Turkey—Eliot Grinnell Mears.

evacuation of the Christian population, not only from Smyrna and Brusa, the islands of the Marmora and east Thrace,[1] but also from the Black Sea and the Pontus. Through September, October and November, 1922, the relief personnel were dispatched to all the centers where the refugees temporarily were segregated and where the simplest necessities of life, such as food, were utterly lacking. Two ships were chartered for the purpose of distributing emergency supplies from the central warehouses in Constantinople to these workers in the Greek islands and Macedonian ports. Foodstuffs that had been purchased for the orphanages were diverted on instructions from New York to meet the unexpected crisis. The resources of the Committee were severely taxed during these early months. Mass feeding was required for at least a year. A refugee settlement program was the only permanent solution for the hundreds of thousands of refugees. It was a task of governmental, international magnitude far beyond the resources of private philanthropy. The Red Cross was urged to share in the emergency feeding and responded in December with a special commission and an appropriation of $3,000,000 for a period of six months. This enabled the Committee to withdraw from the major responsibility for the feeding and care of the adult refugees and devote its resources to the growing problem of the orphans and the child welfare program.

During the months following the events at Smyrna it was increasingly evident that Turkey did not wish the non-

[1] The flight of the Greek and Armenian refugees from eastern Thrace into Greece, across the Maritza River, was paralleled by the influx of some 25,000 Armenian refugees into Bulgaria from the same regions. It was a generous act on the part of the Bulgarian people to open its frontiers to these unfortunate peoples, most of whom had been first exiled from Anatolia and then later driven across the Marmora into Europe and now, for a third time, were refugees in Bulgaria where the Committee was called upon to assist the efforts of the Bulgarian people to meet this new emergency.

Turkish elements to remain in the interior. Permission was given them to leave the country within a limited period. This led to a persistent exodus of the Christian populations from the cities of the central interior to the various seaports of the Black Sea, whence they sought passage to Constantinople. Being denied, they often were obliged to remain helplessly for weeks under miserable conditions in ports like Samsun. Constantinople was again massed with homeless, unwelcome peoples, crowded into insanitary refugee camps, where they were forced to remain while the terms of the treaty between Greece and Turkey were being arranged. Again the Committee seemed to be the only agency equipped to meet the emergency demands for mass feeding and for directing the fight against epidemics of typhus and cholera in the frightfully overcrowded camps. In Constantinople alone 2,663,245 food rations were distributed. The story of the conquest, by the medical staff, of the typhus scourge, the heroic efforts to stem the tide of death in Selimieh Barracks, and the death of one American and ten Greek doctors is related in the chapter on the medical program.

S. Jay Kaufman, staff correspondent of the New York *Telegram,* visited Constantinople in the spring of 1923 and contracted typhus while inspecting the American relief work in Selimieh Barracks. After his illness he wrote to his newspaper the following, which was published July 3:

"Christ was born in a manger." The man who spoke was named Thurber. We knew the type of American Grant Mitchell acts. With just a little more of a smile. And we use him to hang on the story of the Near East Relief we propose to tell you.

Thurber was born in California. He is about 40. Somehow he became interested in the work out here. That does not matter. Elsewhere he has done good work. But here we saw him at his work. And if much of it is due to the executive Dr. Post, and we understand it is, we did not meet Dr. Post. We did meet Thurber.

First, however, suppose we take you with us to the Constantinople headquarters of the Near East Relief. Here you will find

An American nurse comforts orphans from Smyrna on the American destroyer *Litchfield.*

Refugees being transferred from the quay at Smyrna to ships waiting in the harbor.

the work splendidly systematized following the direction of H. C. Jaquith, American. From him you will get the amazing facts. That 180,000 orphans and refugees under Near East Relief are now being helped.

Figures bore you. They do us, until we understand them. Ah, but suppose one of the 27,000 of the Greek or Armenian refugees we saw in and about Constantinople happened to be your brother or sister. What then!

Now, these refugees from Anatolia and from the Black Sea are placed in camps. The camps are overcrowded. And before the refugees can be sent to Greece, others come in and must be looked after.

After seeing the figures let us walk along the front of one of the camps. Hundreds in tents or in old stone buildings. Little colonies. But these, in spite of having as many as a thousand—think of it, thousands homeless in New York—are small camps. On the way we look into a school established by the Near East Relief. A school for Jewish orphans. The girls do beautiful embroidery. They have a home. And now we go across the Bosporus to Scutari, one of the thirds of Constantinople.

A few hundred yards from the water are the Selimieh barracks. A series of buildings arranged in a square. Or more exactly, one building on four sides. Use Madison Square Garden as a basis for size. These barracks are about twenty times the size of Madison Square Garden. Inside the square a space about five times the size of the park at Madison Square. These barracks were used years ago to house the Turkish army. Stone. Primitive. Unsanitary. No furniture.

In these barracks are housed about 9,000 refugees who have been taught cleanliness. By the simple expedient of no bread if the rules are broken. Let's taste the bread. And the soup. Little wonder these people look so well. And how much does it cost to feed them? About 4c a day. Less than 5c a day including every cost.

And who is the man in the nurse's white costume? The man who wears the white towel wrapped tightly around his head? Who smokes a pipe? Who has just a slight trace of hesitancy in his speech and laugh, but not in his smile? That's Thurber.

That's the chap who went into the smallpox and typhoid wards day after day. Once typhus got him. For weeks he was at death's door. But he came back. And he took us through these smallpox and those typhus wards. And how those sufferers looked

up at him for the smile or the word—in English, which they did not understand—or the pat on the head. Room after room, ward after ward; we went into them all hesitant and afraid, we admit, but the fear was quickly wiped out by the anguish we saw. Thurber described the cases—this or that one and to reassure us, "There is no danger. Two months ago the death rate was 140 a day; now it is only 15 a day." And how can we help saying, "Thank God!"

And on to see how they lived. And little belongings they saved somehow as they escaped. A quilt, a blanket, a mat. And all now quite clean and orderly.

And on to the bread stations. When we see the grain from which it is made. And how it is tested. And how when the baker isn't up to standard he is at once changed. And on to the soup kitchen. Rice soup today. And potatoes in it. The fat is olive oil. Each person has his or her dish or pan and waits with a card for the portion. The portion depends on the size of the family or the group. The carrier takes it to the family or group. Let's follow them.

What's the building? Hadn't noticed it before. That? Ah, that's the stable. The stable in which the soldiers' horses used to be housed. And what's it used for? Follow the girl with that kettle of soup and we'll see. Why some of the refugees are housed here. Yes? A thousand. A thousand in a stable. They are all seated on the ground. And as Thurber enters they arise—their friend is coming. Their faces light up. We notice that some have a blanket on which to sleep, others a mat of some sort, others have green grass, which they get out in the field close by.

And we see that there are infants. And we ask Thurber, and Thurber speaks. "Christ was born in a manger."

The transfer, during the general exodus from the interior, of all the orphans except the Turkish children from Cæsarea, Konia, Marsovan, Sivas, Samsun and Trebizond to Greece, and the trek over the long, interior roads to the sea, the embarkation for Constantinople and Piræus, and the redistribution and reorganization of vast orphanages in thirteen different centers in Greece, form a part of the story that follows.

CHAPTER XII

GREECE

GREECE was added to the relief map by a rapid succession of disastrous events which followed the collapse of the Greek army in western Asia, culminating in the sudden influx of masses of refugees and orphans. Greece had been deserted and defeated. Politically the country was torn asunder. The drachma had fallen in value. The returning soldiers were without employment. The morale of the people had been broken by disaster abroad and impending ruin at home resulting from the invasion of an army of 1,400,000 helpless refugees. The relief workers, bent on their errand of mercy, followed the refugees with emergency rations of food.

The later transfer of the orphans from the interior of Turkey to Greece fixed the location and determined the program of a major portion of the Committee's activities during the following seven years. Administrative headquarters were moved from Constantinople to Athens, and Greece became a new center of interest and work. A constructive and co-operative social and child welfare program has been developed from these emergency beginnings. Greek philanthropy closely resembled the attitude of American giving and provided the country before the war with numerous memorials of generosity and service.

Col. Plastiras, by a virtual dictatorship, maintained order and the authority of a government capable of strong and effective action. Dr. Doxiades as director of the Department of Refugees, organized the construction forces within and without the country to solve the tremendous problems caused by this floodtide of dependent and penniless people

across the Ægean Sea. American and other foreign relief agencies responded to the appeal for aid, but the brunt of the catastrophe and the merit for its solution rested mainly with the Greek government and the Greek people.

The advent of 17,000 orphans into a refugee-crowded country taxed housing resources to the maximum. All the summer hotels at the two medicinal watering spas, Lutraki and Edipsos, were requisitioned and turned into orphanage dormitories. The former palace of the Kaiser, situated in the center of a magnificent park and overlooking the beautiful island of Corfu, was filled with children. The Old Palace, in the center of Athens, the scene of much of Greek history, was transmuted into an office for the relief unit and a receiving station for children.

The Zappeon, a national exhibition building, situated between the Acropolis and the Stadium and close by the ruins of the ancient Temple of Jupiter, was transformed into an orphanage. The site of the Temple became the playground for the orphans. Barracks were emptied of soldiers and filled with children in Corinth, not far from the ruins of the city of St. Paul, and in Chalkis. A warehouse on Corfu, reconstructed buildings at Cephalonia, deserted mining quarters at Thassos and a farm school at Oropos, all were converted into orphanage homes and schools and made beehives of young life and activity. All of this was done by the government of Greece, without charge, and the buildings turned over to the organization for its use at a time when the country was so desperately trying to find shelter for the refugees that it was forced to house three hundred and fifty families for two years in the boxes and seats of the National Opera House, with only burlap bags for partitions to divide one family from another.

As summer approached, the privately owned hotels had to be evacuated. Shelter for thousands of children had to be provided. The government had exhausted every inch of

available space. The organization had given assurance, when permission was granted to admit the children, that they would not become an additional public burden. The only solution for this supplementary housing emergency was for the Committee to secure a suitable site and construct buildings with accommodations for 3,000 children. The island of Syra, overnight by boat from Piræus, finally was chosen from the many places investigated. A large tract of land, a section of which was good for farm purposes, was provided by the government. Buildings were erected, with the help of the refugees and the work of the boys of the orphanage. Syra is an important island, the capital of the Cyclades and the seat of a bishop of the Greek church. This orphanage at various times has housed and trained some 7,000 boys and girls. It has been one of the most outstanding orphanage schools of the organization. It was a laboratory where child culture and training could be tested and its problems worked out. It was a vocational school where many skills were taught to equip the boys and girls for economic self-support. It was a place where character was built and children prepared for future citizenship.

Syra was the last orphanage center. All the other institutions were closed as rapidly as children could be outplaced. In Greece it was always called the American school and was seldom referred to as an orphanage.

The process of transferring thousands of orphans from the remote interior stations of Turkey and Constantinople to thirteen separate places in Greece necessitated the complete reorganization of the work and workers, the reequipment of the children and the institutions at a great additional expense to the relief funds. Few things could be transported with the children. It was beginning again with new supplies and many new untrained personnel in a new and friendly environment.

The government granted every facility and aid to the

activities of the Committee, including exemption from customs duties, free transportation for supplies and personnel, and for over a year furnished a steamer for the transfer of orphans and supplies, permitted the use of the post and telegraph without charge, and gave the organization and its officers diplomatic consideration.

The development of the orphanage educational and outplacing programs and the adaptation of American child welfare methods and practices to conditions in Greece are covered in the particular chapters devoted to these phases of the work. Permanent contributions to the social and child welfare activities of Greece have been made along various lines, including a model tuberculosis pavilion at Soteria in Athens, a school for the blind in which a universal phonetic Braille alphabet was formulated, a school for the deaf and hard of hearing under the supervision of a graduate of the Clark School at Northampton, encouragement and demonstration of nurses' training, an anti-malaria campaign successfully conducted in Corinth, the preparation and distribution of a health manual and the organization of working boys' and girls' homes.[1]

[1] The development of social welfare agencies has paralleled the growth of the country since the days of independence in 1832. Their beginnings and enlargement have been varied. The methods followed in the application of social welfare principles have been equally diversified. Nevertheless, the growth of organizations and institutions has followed close upon the community needs and, on the whole, generous provision has been made, largely through private benevolence, for child care and welfare service. Until the Smyrna disaster in 1922, Greece has never asked or received outside charitable aid to solve her current social problems. It was only when the population of the country increased nearly 25 per cent within a period of four months, when the people were clothed in mourning as a symbol of defeat, when the country was overrun with refugees and orphans, that Greece accepted foreign assistance. Even in this emergency, America's contribution was small compared with that made by Greece herself. But America's aid was timely. It was encouraging. It was constructive in its adaptation of proved methods to the permanent solution of the special child orphan problem. This, however, is a question for later study.—From "Development of Social Welfare Activities in Greece," in "The Social Service Review," June, 1928.

Although the organization withdrew from the responsibility of a general adult feeding program in Greece, though not in Constantinople and the Pontus, after the arrival of the Red Cross unit, nevertheless enormous quantities of old clothes were shipped to Greece and distributed to the refugees in Macedonia. It was estimated that enough American old clothing was collected by the Committee to change the styles of all the people. The fascinating story of this program is retold in another chapter on relief through "giving work." Greeks in America were eager to send individual remittances to their suffering relatives and friends overseas, but there was no way of locating them or transmitting funds. The organization maintained for several months American specialized personnel at Crete, Mitylene, Salonika, Kavalla, Patras, Athens and centers where refugees had been segregated for the purpose of aiding these people in locating other members of their families and in securing wherever possible individual financial assistance to supplement their meager dole of refugee rations.

Admiral Bristol, American high commissioner, wrote to the State Department as late as July, 1923, "If relief activities were withdrawn from the Pontus and Constantinople, the refugees would undoubtedly perish of hunger and disease." An average of over 40,000 Greek refugees were being fed during these months, exclusive of the refugees from Smyrna.

The representatives of the Committee participated in many activities and assisted Greece directly and indirectly in the solution of many of the problems arising out of the abnormal refugee conditions.

The first transfer of Moslem and Greek populations under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne was made under the authority and supervision of the Near East Relief. The flight of more than a million refugees from Smyrna and Asia Minor into an overcrowded Greece in 1922 had been pre-

cipitous. They left without supplies and without money. When the terms of the treaty were being discussed, there were less than two hundred thousand Greeks left in Turkey, aside from the population of Constantinople. On the other hand, there were three hundred and sixty thousand Moslem Turks in Greek Macedonia, most of them farmers well adapted to replace some of the Christian tillers of the soil in Anatolia. The treaty provided for the compulsory exchange of population, including all Orthodox Greeks in Turkey, except those residing in Constantinople before 1918, and all Moslem Turks in Greece, except those in western Thrace. This transfer was to be supervised by a commission composed of Greek and Turkish representatives and neutral members from nations not in the World War.

When the Lausanne conference opened, five-sixths of all the former Greeks in Turkey were already in Greece, crowded into army barracks, tents, abandoned warehouses and theaters. Three months after the treaty was signed, the commission had not been organized. Moslems in Greece, fatalistically facing the will of the treaty makers, awaited the inevitable notice to leave their homes and lands and the orders for transportation to unknown parts of Turkey. They had planted no crops, winter was approaching, and they were restless. Greek refugees from the Black Sea region had reached Constantinople and were languishing in refugee camps. Consequently, both the Greek and the Turkish governments officially asked the Near East Relief to start the exchange without waiting for the organization of the commission in order to relieve the tension and suffering among the people who must move under the terms of the treaty.[1]

[1] "As from 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorization of the Turkish government or of the Greek government respectively. However, it is stipulated that this arrangement does not apply to the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople nor to the Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace."

In response to this urgent request, the first exchange of populations actually was made in October, 1923, under the supervision of the managing director of the Greek Area, with least possible friction and the minimum hardship to the unfortunate people concerned.[1]

Even after the Commission for the Exchange organized and began to function, the managing director continued as an unofficial agent and somewhat later, when a series of complaints, real and exaggerated, from Moslems in Macedonia were printed in the Turkish press in Angora, the recall of the Turkish members of the Commission was intimated. Before taking this action, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, then chairman of the Turkish delegation, requested the managing director of Near East Relief to investigate the charges with a representative of the Turkish Red Crescent. The subsequent report recommended the immediate transfer of Moslems from Macedonia who had been waiting for months the inevitable readjustments, and the tension was relieved.

[1] "The Lausanne Treaty was not ratified until July, 1923. Two months later, with the official machinery not yet functioning and with a general cessation of agriculture pending the Exchange, both interested governments welcomed initiative action by Americans. During the week of October 15-21, under committees composed of Greek and Turkish officials, with field workers of the Near East Relief acting as neutral members, 8,000 Moslems were evacuated from Mitylene to Aivali, in Asia Minor, in exchange for the same number of Greeks, transported in Greek vessels from Samsun to Saloniki.

"To everyone's surprise, this opening of the Exchange was effected with perfect harmony. The Moslem families, with their flocks and household goods, trekked to Mitylene's various ports, where small Turkish steamers were waiting. Taxes and passports were waived; minor offenders were released from prison; the women were even permitted to take with them their strings of gold coins.

"Believers in a traditional Hellenophobia-Turkophobia would have stared at the sight of the Mitylene Greeks spreading farewell meals for their departing neighbors, and later accompanying them to the quay, where Christians and Mohammedans, who for a lifetime had been plowing adjacently and even sharing occasional backgammon games at village cafes, embraced and parted with tears. Then, seated on their heaped-up baggage, with their flocks around them—the women weeping, the children hugging their pets, the gray-bearded babas all dignity, as is their wont—the Mitylene Moslems set forth for unknown Turkey."—"History's Greatest Trek" by Melville Chater in National Geographic Magazine.

The Turks in Greece were just as loath to leave their homes as the Greeks in Turkey had been. The exchange was a method of completing in an orderly way what had been two-thirds done in the disorder, confusion and suffering of a hasty exodus. It removed from Turkey the vexing minority question. It provided Greece with more land for the refugees and a homogeneous population for Macedonia and the Islands.

This ethnical change in the peoples of Macedonia, the incoming of Greeks from Asia and the return of the Turks to Asia, was of importance in the ultimate placement of many graduate orphans on the farms and in the villages among the new settlers, where they proved to be an important element in introducing new ideas in agriculture, health and methods of living.

The settlement of the refugees required governmental loans of international proportions. After some hesitancy, the League of Nations, through the personal efforts of Dr. Nansen, finally gave its approval to a Greek Refugee Loan of £10,000,000 to be floated on the credit and guarantees of the Greek government, but administered by a special Refugee Settlement Commission with an American chairman. The international reputation and friendly interest toward Greece of Henry Morgenthau, a member of the Executive Committee, dictated his appointment as chairman of the newly authorized refugee commission. The actual results which were accomplished by means of this distinctive and constructive post-war loan in the solution of the refugee problem by the building of houses and the distribution of equipment, was unparalleled in international finance. A liability of dejected, homeless exiles was turned into an asset of industrious, settled citizens.

The treaty of peace stipulated that all Greek civil prisoners detained as *hommes valides* after the events at Smyrna, should be released and sent to Greece. The Angora

government refused the request of the Greek government for a commission to proceed to Turkey to arrange for the release of the prisoners. Months passed and still the ill-fated men were detained. In December, 1923, the Turkish officials reached a compromise with the Greek officials and the managing director of the Near East Relief was invited by both governments to act as chairman of a special commission composed of representatives of the Greek Red Cross and the Turkish Red Crescent to supervise the release and the transportation of these civil prisoners. Over 11,000 men, all that remained, were transferred to Greece and reunited with their families.

Other co-operating agencies rendered valuable service to the refugee cause during this period of great need. The Save the Children Fund furnished supplementary hot rations to children in Athens and in Macedonia. At the height of their activities nearly 50,000 children were being fed daily. The Commissioner for Refugees of the League maintained a director in Salonika for the administration of such funds as were placed at the League's disposal. The American Women's Hospitals established a quarantine station and maintained several hospital and clinic units under American personnel supervision in the refugee camps of Athens and in towns of Macedonia. The Friends of Greece organized handiwork industries to give employment to widows and then sold the product in America. The Fatherless Children of Greece Committee supported half-orphans in homes by supplying a monthly subsidy. The last two organizations united with the Near East Relief.[1]

The local private welfare agencies redoubled their efforts and threw their full strength and all their resources into

[1] Board of Trustees, American Friends of Greece and Fatherless Children of Greece: Edward Capps, Henry J. Allen, Joseph E. Davies, Henry B. Dewing, Charles W. Eliot, William C. Emhardt, John H. Finley, Charles E. Howe, Franklin D. Jones, Wm. S. Moore, John V. Van Pelt, Henry S. Washington, E. O. Watson.

the crisis and they in turn were fully supported by the government with such funds and supplies as were available. Greeks by birth in many countries, notably America, not only sent liberal individual remittances to destitute relatives and friends, variously estimated to total several millions of dollars during the last ten years, but as Greek communities and societies in American cities, they raised, by popular subscription, hundreds of thousands of dollars for the relief of their compatriots, transmitting the funds either through the Near East Relief or directly to various relief committees in Greece.

Greece accepted, without discrimination, Armenian as well as Greek refugees from Turkey. Before the shiftings of peoples had settled more than 90,000 had entered overcrowded Greece. This was not from any accidental generosity on the part of the Hellenes or because they were too weak to close the borders against the floodtide of mixed refugees, for a year later, when the managing director of the Committee was asked to supervise the return of civil prisoners from Turkey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Athens gave definite instructions to bring any Armenians who wished to come and to treat them with the same consideration as the Greeks. This attitude of Greece in opening her doors when all other nations, except Bulgaria, were closing them against the Armenian refugees and orphans, exiled from their homes in Turkey, has never been fully appreciated nor accredited. When every mouth to feed was an additional economic burden and when every pair of hands stretched out for work added competition in the elemental struggle for life, 90,000 alien Armenian refugees added to an overwhelming number of Anatolian Greeks, was a severe test of inter-racial good will and was met by a response seldom if ever excelled.

The Committee has helped the Armenians to solve their problems. Many have sought permanent homes where the economic future seemed brighter than in Greece. The

Above: Orphans at play in the Temple of Jupiter, Athens, the Zappeion, famous exposition hall used as an orphanage, in the background. *Below:* Refugee camp under the shadow of the ancient Temple of Thessus, Athens.

Above: A receiving station for Greece's 1,400,000 refugees at Salonika. *Below:* Exiles from Turkey en route from Patras to a refugee colony in rural Greece.

Armenians in Egypt and France were enlisted to care for groups of Armenian orphans who were sent to both those countries for outplacement in Armenian homes and establishments of business. In Greece the representatives of the Committee have frequently used their good offices further to interpret the interests of the two peoples to each other.

Greece not only survived the tragedy of Smyrna and the staggering influx of refugees, but less than ten years after the disastrous events the country is undoubtedly stronger than it was before the World War. During the process of recovery the individual has suffered unbelievably and many did not survive, but the country as a whole is more productive and more united politically. The Anatolian Greeks brought energy and experience. The departure of the Moslem Turks made a homogeneous population.

During the years the Committee has carried on relief and welfare work in Greece many changes have taken place in the government but the same spirit of co-operation and appreciation has been shown by all officials. The royal kingdom passed into a republic in 1924, under President Koundouriotis. In 1928 Venizelos returned to the leadership of a new Greece, born out of much suffering.[1]

The tribute which the Greek government paid to Christopher Thurber, by according him a governmental burial from the Cathedral with the rites of a retired general, is the

[1] February, 1930, the Minister of Public Health in Athens reported to Mr. Thurber, acting director of the Near East Relief work in Greece, that Prime Minister Venizelos, had been profoundly impressed by the fact that in the evacuation of the Greek refugees and children from Turkey five of the Near East Relief representatives had lost their lives. The Minister said:

"I am particularly appreciative of the fact that five Americans lost their lives on the battlefield of humanity. The noble work performed by the Near East Relief to thousands of destitute Greek refugees, the efficient way in which it helped the needy out of their misery and distress, have rightly merited the gratitude of the Hellenic nation. The Greek government once more wishes to express this national appreciation of your work."

way a nation expressed its gratitude and appreciation to America and its representative in humanitarian service for the years of sympathetic helpfulness to its refugees and its children. Gratitude will continue to find expression. Henry Morgenthau, in his latest book, "I Was Sent to Athens," points this out. "When we arrived at the Zappeon it was late in the evening and we found only a few dim lights still lit. We were escorted into the great unfurnished barracks and there beheld one of the most touching scenes—eight hundred small boys all sound asleep on blankets laid on the bare floor. Despite the lack of comfort, their faces indicated that their sleep was troubled by none but pleasant dreams. My Greek friends were greatly affected at this evidence of the sympathy and efficiency of distant America for the childhood of their nation.

"On another occasion I took Mr. Venizelos and Dr. Doxiades, the Minister of Public Assistance, to an entertainment given by the children of this same orphanage. Some of the children gave recitations for our benefit and other forms of entertainment. But the outstanding feature of the occasion was a concert by a band made up of small boys, every one of whom was blind. All these children were being taught means of self-help and eventual independence.

"These orphanages evoked a spirit of gratitude toward Americans among the Greeks that will not be diminished in the lifetime of any of those children, and probably will not disappear for generations."

PART FOUR
GENERAL RELIEF

CHAPTER XIII

RELIEF THROUGH GIVING WORK

THE work overseas during the war often was referred to as "general relief." The distribution of food and clothing, medical care for the sick and undernourished, the temporary housing of orphaned children, the various attempts to rehabilitate the refugees, and the establishment of workshops to replace bread lines, all were an integral part of the efforts of the relief workers to meet the rapidly changing war emergency situations. Personnel were scattered in isolated areas. Funds available to meet the overwhelming need were comparatively small, but experience had taught the American residents of the Near East certain fundamentals of giving without pauperizing. They insisted on labor, whenever possible, in return for the relief which they were able to distribute. This general principle, put into practice during the days of the war, was made a general policy of the Committee when the overseas administration was unified and centralized following the armistice. Then the terminology and the program became modified. The phrase "general relief" was restricted and used to designate the activity of the feeding and clothing of adult refugees and rehabilitation efforts toward their establishment in permanent homes. The methods varied according to countries and conditions. The story in this chapter is concerned with the adaptation of the general principle of giving relief by providing work and covers the period of the war, the armistice, the Smyrna tragedy and its aftermath, and illustrates how relief was given to peoples without destroying their courage and initiative and without making them chronic dependents.

The people commonly and casually referred to as refugees were before the war prosperous citizens of the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Russia. They were landowners, artisans, merchants, doctors, teachers and farmers, men and women of enterprise, with strong traditions of home life. Many were former students of American colleges. Masses of these people, because of conditions referred to in the earlier chapters, had been uprooted, the ordinary protections of life torn from them, driven onward to an unknown fate, and thrown into a common misery. The purpose of relief under those conditions was to meet the immediate wants of hundreds of thousands of helpless people and to distribute aid in such a way as to provide a possible permanent solution, maintaining the morale and the self-respect of the refugees themselves.

There were periods and conditions where it was possible only to purchase simple food and allot it daily to the passing or accumulated groups. When people were famine stricken yet living in some kind of shelter, dry rations, in monthly quantities, were distributed until the next harvest season. Frequently corn grits were given to assure the family sufficient food on the condition that their carefully protected seed wheat would be planted.

The outbreak of epidemics compelled the segregation of refugees into quarantine camps and necessitated the establishment of soup kitchens. The direct application of relief measures was the only possible alleviation of the situation.

The problem extended beyond the period of the World War. It had been expected that, with the cessation of hostilities, the remnants who had escaped as refugees would be rehabilitated in their former homes. This hope was never realized. The surviving refugees were doomed to exile. They were forced to re-establish life in strange countries.

The problems confronting the administration of general relief may be classified in four categories: First, relief to

able-bodied refugee men; second, relief to refugee women and widows with dependent children; third, rehabilitation by the settlement of refugees in new homes; fourth, relief through the distribution of old clothes and contributed supplies.

The refugees in Persia and those that fled into Russia from Turkey in 1915 were not subject to the same disseminating effects, months of unknown journeying called deportations, as were the refugees who survived the treks from south Turkey into the Syrian and Arabian deserts. The families were less broken. A certain proportion of the exiles in Persia and Russia were men.

Local activities in Persia were completely disorganized by the war. There was no employment. Men were weakened by slow starvation and shared the hungry fate of the rest of the family. The problem of the relief workers was to turn the bread lines into working units. In Tabriz, Teheran and Hamadan, programs of public improvements were projected by the local relief committees. Gradually, the muddy, impassable streets were reconstructed and paved by the refugee laborers. Some of the highways leading out from the cities were also repaired. At Tabriz a dike was built on one side of the city to save the lower sections from spring inundations.

In the Caucasus the marching of armies to and fro destroyed the irrigation ditches upon which the fertility of whole areas was entirely dependent. Refugees, receiving corn grits as a principal ration, were organized to repair some of these main waterways. Large sections of land were made available for recultivation and resettlement.[1]

The same principle was applied during the later years of

[1] "Refugees employed in rebuilding roads, reconstructing the sanitary systems in the towns and villages and in opening up irrigation ditches, in order to bring large areas of added land under irrigation cultivation, were paid for their services in corn grits at the rate of ten pounds of grits a month. Nearly 130,000 people were thus engaged."—Dr. Paul Monroe.

the general relief program when thousands of Greek refugees from the Black Sea region were huddled in camps at Samsun. They could not return to their interior homes. They could not find work and they were starving. The orphanage director at this port requested funds for emergency feeding, conditioned upon the government granting permission to fill in a mosquito-breeding swamp which had infected Samsun with malaria for decades. The task was completed before the refugees were transferred to Constantinople and later to Greece.

These examples are recorded to illustrate the problem and methods of handling able-bodied refugees, making the distribution of charity in the form of a living wage in money or in kind to those physically capable of work and for whom work could be provided. As the relief resources of the Committee were limited the wages were extremely small, sufficient to meet only the minimum needs of life for the workers and their dependents.

The second category of refugees consisted of women—widows, and widows with children. The majority of the refugees who escaped southward into Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia were women or children; few of the men reached these havens of safety. Among the exiled groups of Persia and the Caucasus women and children struggled with the others for the simplest need of life itself—food. Workshops for women were not easily organized under the uncertainties of war in the Near East. The emergency needs of orphans, temporarily gathered into shelters and institutions, provided labor through washing, carding, spinning and weaving, all by hand, and the making of cotton and woolen cloth for garments. In the Caucasus and in Persia the local relief committees contracted with the armies for quantities of underclothing and stockings and organized the refugee women to supply the needs of the soldiers and receive in return rations of food. Owing to the scarcity of manufac-

tured goods and the distance from any base of supplies, these industrial activities assumed large proportions, providing thousands of women with a means of earning a livelihood, and enabled the relief workers to aid a much greater number than their restricted funds would have permitted ordinarily.[1]

The same methods were applied to the relief of 50,000 Armenian and Assyrian refugees expelled from Urmia, who wandered southward until they were at last given protection by the British in an encampment near Baghdad. There the refugees spun cotton and wool, and wove cloth for garments for the use of the British troops. With the payment of even small wages a large part of the camp became self-supporting.

One of the problems growing out of the unusual conditions of the war in the Near East was the care of Christian girls who had been rescued from harems after the armistice. Allied police control made it safe for these unfortunate victims to escape. Homes were established under the supervision of local committees and work was provided as an antidote for the previous experiences and to enable them to become gradually self-supporting. They had long been separated and lost from all their relatives. The League of Nations later, through special funds, appointed special representatives to care for this problem.

Following the armistice this general theory of helping

[1] "During the war, owing to the closing of the Dardanelles, it was impossible to get manufactured cloth into the Caucasus. There was in the country sufficient money and grain, but the great necessity was clothing. To meet this exigency, weaving factories were established by the relief organization. The products of such factories served not only to clothe the inmates of the charitable institutions, but also found a ready sale in the open market. Under such conditions, the industries operated at a profit. After the armistice and the opening of the Dardanelles, the conditions in the Caucasus were entirely reversed. Food became scarce, the money market unreliable in the newly declared republics and the import of woolen cloth into the Caucasus became easily possible."—Caucasus Report—Col. Haskell—1919.

women by providing an opportunity to work developed into the Near East Industries. The refugees, whenever permitted to move, naturally gravitated to the larger centers under foreign protection. Constantinople, Beirut, and later Athens and Salonika, amassed unabsorbable numbers of homeless women and children, with a faint scattering of men. Searching and pleading for some kind of work, some small wage, they were denied this simple request because there was little or no demand for labor. Yet these women were adept at any kind of handiwork. They offered embroidery and laces on the streets and whenever they could they borrowed money for a little cloth and thread. This native ability was organized in workrooms. Some native cloth was woven and some linen was imported. Designs calculated to attract the interest of foreign residents and visitors were embroidered into table covers, runners, handkerchiefs and other useful articles. People were induced to purchase the finished products as a method of helping the refugee women and at the same time securing something very attractive for the home or as a gift. As these handwork industries developed, women from the American institutions, wives of diplomats and others gave orders for dresses and other garments.

As rapidly as the finished products were sold more women were employed and more articles created. In the beginning the sale of goods covered the cost of the raw materials and part of the wage payments. Gradually this phase of the relief program expanded and became self-supporting. The local trade was augmented by the yearly arrival of thousands of tourists on Mediterranean cruises. Each visitor was a potential buyer of presents and souvenirs. Through the courtesy of cruise managers and steamship companies sales of the handmade products were held aboard the tourist ships. Eighteen thousand dollars worth of these goods have been sold in this way in a single season.

Near East Industries were extended to America in an effort to secure wider distribution, larger sales and consequently enable the Committee to give more refugee women self-sustaining employment. Sales were held by friends of the work. Goods were put upon display in the various district offices and in a few of the larger cities stores were opened. Near East Industries' products became familiar to a majority of the contributing friends of the organization in the United States.

Workshops were operated in three refugee centers: Athens, Beirut and Constantinople, under the supervision of Miss Priscilla Capps, Miss Dorothy Francis and Miss Sarah Ravndal. More than half of the production was sold locally or to tourists. Goods were ordered regularly from America to meet the sales requirements. Most of the handwork was done in the refugee homes from designs and materials supplied from a small workshop bureau. The finished product was received, inspected and if acceptable laundered and prepared for shipment or sale. The Near East Industries represented a self-supporting relief program, developed over a period of several years, during which time the similar work of the Friends of Greece was amalgamated. It has been a means of supporting many refugee women and families in self-respect and it has helped to preserve and stimulate the native arts of weaving and designing.

The third problem of general relief was the rehabilitation by the settlement of refugees in new homelands. During the early stages of the war the Russian army advanced far into northeast Turkey. The Armenian refugees who had fled from Van and other towns followed the victorious troops back to their own homes and farms. The American relief workers, provided with emergency funds, assisted in the re-equipment of the looted homes and abandoned lands. The refugees industriously set to work to rebuild and recultivate. But the Russian army did not remain—it retreated to the

Caucasus and for the second time the civilian population fled in terror and distress.

In Persia efforts were made repeatedly during the war to re-establish refugees, but uncertain military and bandit conditions frustrated their endeavors.

The Committee awaited an armistice. If Turkey were defeated with the Central Powers, there seemed no question but that the minority peoples in exile would be guaranteed protection and could return to their old homes. The program of the organization anticipated the rehabilitation of this mass of wandering refugees, the restoration of normal conditions of security and ultimate and early self-support. Moreover, the children gathered into orphan groups during the period of hostilities would be redistributed to various districts with surviving relatives or in village communities.

The special campaign of 1918 outlined the possibilities of aiding in this reconstruction task in a large way. A considerable part of the funds requested were contributed, but the war was not over in the Near East and the refugees could not return except where Allied protection was assured, in Constantinople, Smyrna and Cilicia. Even in these areas the return of the people was soon followed by another tragedy and another exile for those who survived. The French occupation of Cilicia led the Armenian refugees to return. The relief workers followed with assistance. Within a year over 200,000 Armenians had resettled in this province, repaired their homes, retilled the soil and were self-supporting again, so that the relief work was not needed except for hospitals and orphanages. The forced withdrawal of the French precipitated a second and final flight into Syria. The work of rehabilitation was undone. The efforts in Smyrna, equally successful, within the brief period of a year and a half were swept away in the subsequent disaster.

Conditions in Constantinople in 1921 became intolerable. Abandoned palaces along the Bosporus had been turned

into refugee camps. The refugees could find little work. They were afraid to leave the city. Their morale was rapidly declining. There seemed only one solution possible, namely, the transfer of the people from the miserable camp conditions of the overcrowded city to the then partially unoccupied wheat lands of eastern Thrace, less than a hundred miles south, on the Sea of Marmora. The refugees did not want to go. To them it was another exodus to a strange and unfriendly country, for Thrace was then Grecian territory. The order was issued to stop the relief rations and to close the camps. Simultaneously, a steamer was chartered, anchored in sight of the refugees and conspicuously loaded with attractive food supplies. They had to choose between starving in the streets of the city and embarking for the new farm colonies in Thrace. One hundred and eighty families took ship—the rest dispersed into unknown quarters in the city.

Two villages were built by these refugees on abandoned estates. The organization assured them food supplies until the first harvest, provided a small quantity of building materials, furnished seeds and one work animal and agricultural tools for each three families. Immediately the refugees began planting, sowing and building homes, barns, schools, shops and churches. They made the forsaken untilled land blossom and produce a harvest. Within a year they were fully self-supporting, had a year's food supply from their own crops and began to refund to the organization the cost of the animals and permanent equipment. Two new villages of happy citizens replaced the despair of the city refugee camps.

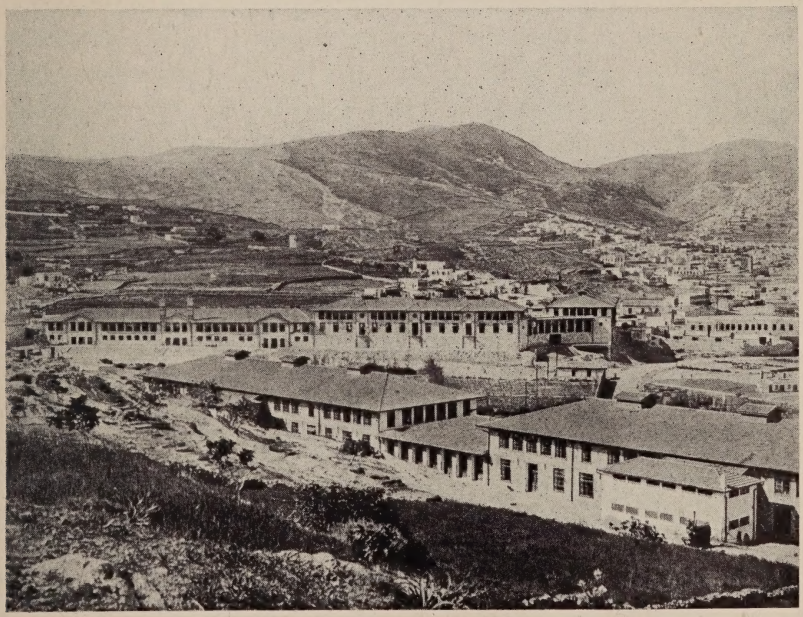
If the Near Eastern question had been answered and peace maintained after the armistice the refugee problem would have been solved and the organization would have had the satisfaction of participating largely in the permanent solution of the relief question, but the emergency conditions

continued to dominate. The resources of the Committee were further restricted by the increasing demands of the mounting orphanage needs.

The gigantic settlement problem, arising from the catastrophic movement of 1,400,000 refugees from Turkey to Greece, following the events at Smyrna, was of governmental magnitude. The story of the Greek nation meeting this crisis is filled with racial heroism, with constructive statesmanship. After the first shock of defeat had passed and the refugees had been fed through the first winter, a program for the settlement of these masses of people was proposed. An international loan was floated and the Refugee Settlement Commission began to function effectively. It was a gigantic task, covering a period of seven years. Meanwhile, the waiting refugees lived in camps and endeavored, against great odds, to become self-supporting.

The Committee and other organizations shared in the emergency feeding during the first winter in Greece and for months fed refugees detained in Constantinople and at Black Sea ports. Full continuing responsibility for 18,000 orphaned children in thirteen different institutions in Greece was also assumed.

After 1923 the Committee largely withdrew from general relief activities, owing to diminishing funds, and concentrated its efforts on the care and education of children. But the condition of the refugees in Macedonia, waiting permanent settlement, insufficiently fed and clothed, was an undeniable appeal for further aid. The organization, facing an earlier crisis in the Caucasus, had been successful in collecting quantities of old clothes in America, and shipping them to Armenia, which had not only clothed the refugees but had exchanged the surplus for food and necessary supplies to help maintain the orphanages there. To meet some of the needs of the Greek refugees in 1923 and the years that immediately followed, the Committee launched a series of



Above: Boxes in the National Opera House, Athens, where for two years 350 refugee families were housed. Burlap bags were the only partitions to divide one family from another. *Below:* Panorama of the buildings at Syra, the largest orphanage center in Greece, built by orphan and refugee labor.

Above: Greek civilian prisoners from Turkey reach Greece and struggle for bread brought to them by American relief workers. *Below:* A contingent of Greeks arrive at Mitylene en route to Athens in the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, the first exchange being supervised by the Near East Relief director of the Greek-Constantinople area.

clothing campaigns, and established a reconditioning and distributing industry at Salonika in Macedonia.

The process by which these old clothes were handled, reaching the needy refugee and allowing him to retain his self-respect, is sufficiently distinctive to relate in some detail. The clothing arrived pressed in bales. Refugee women were employed to assort, classify and repair it. A nominal price was placed on each article. The refugee with his small earnings could reclothe the entire family. The small returns were used to pay the refugee sorters and repairers, and the cost of distribution.

It was necessary to prevent this attractive clothing from falling into the hands of speculators and to apportion it equitably among the hundreds of thousands of needy families. Every refugee was registered by the government and provided with an identification booklet which contained a photograph and a detailed statement of the number of dependent members in the family. This registration card was supplemented by data from the local Association of Refugees which certified that the individual or family was in need of clothing. This was rechecked by the organization staff and permit cards were issued. On the reverse side full instructions and a list of the articles available were printed. Fifty bales were handled and assorted daily, averaging between 13,000 and 14,000 pieces of clothing. A large building provided by the government was converted into a huge industrial workshop. Each process, from the opening of the bales to the sales to the refugees, was analyzed and arranged progressively to economize time and space. Nothing was wasted. Garments that could not be used for clothing were made into rag carpets to cover earthen floors. Sweaters incapable of being repaired were unraveled, the yarn re-dyed and woven into oriental rugs. The gunnysacking which enveloped the bales was also unraveled, colored and made into carpeting. The baling wire was made into shoe pegs

and used to repair the contributed old shoes. The loose buttons nearly supplied the needs of the city of Salonika.

Various distribution centers were maintained in the refugee districts of Macedonia. The government provided free transportation for all supplies. To reach certain areas a railroad car was fitted up as an old clothing store and moved from one siding to another. In a single year 1,909,532 pounds of clothing were distributed without cost to the organization except collection expenses in America. Hundreds of needy women were employed reconditioning the garments and over half the refugees in Greece were given an opportunity to reclothe their entire families.

Various problems of general relief cover almost the entire period of the committee's activities. They have been extensive, measured in any time. Remittances totaling a large sum were handled for individuals during the war. Shiploads of supplies followed in rapid succession after the armistice. Milk, corn grits and other commodities were contributed generously in America and sent to the Near East. Old clothing, aggregating millions of pounds, was distributed in Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece, Syria and Turkey. Always, as far as possible, the Committee followed the principle of requiring work in exchange for commodities. It was not the simplest or quickest way of feeding or clothing the refugees; it required careful and constant supervision and much planning. It was the more difficult method of distributing relief but it was less demoralizing and more permanent. Conditions made it impossible to follow the procedure at all times. Frequently there was only one way to prevent wholesale death by starvation and exposure and this was the direct allotment of food rations and the organization of soup kitchens, but among the masses of homeless people aided, few were found who were not eager to work in return for what they received. Because of an insistence upon a fair exchange of labor for food and clothing, the distribution of

enormous relief funds did not demoralize or humiliate the persons who were the recipients of American charity during a period of unprecedented national and international upheavals.

In 1930, seven years after the Treaty of Lausanne, the refugee camps in Beirut, Aleppo, Athens and Salonika still shelter Armenians scarcely able to secure their daily bread. The process of dissolution of these deplorable camp conditions under economic stress and the great surplus of cheap labor can only progress by outside assistance, through the medium of loan funds, land and materials for constructing small but livable homes to replace the present hovels and insanitary living conditions.

CHAPTER XIV

HEALTH AND SANITATION

The existence of American hospitals supervised by American missionary doctors and nurses in the larger cities of the Ottoman Empire and Persia, with an American medical school at Beirut, is the necessary explanation of the extensive medical relief work accomplished during the war. The staff of health experts, most of them long resident in the country, speaking the language of the people and holding their confidence, devoted themselves unreservedly to the refugees, fighting epidemics, undernourishment and disease. Many were stricken with sickness. In the memorial record of personnel the names of several doctors and nurses are included. At the first opportunity after the armistice medical reënforcements of doctors, nurses and supplies were sent to relieve those who had been isolated and unaided during the war.

Modern medical practice had made but little progress in the Ottoman Empire outside the few larger centers. The mass of the people in the interior were content with the medieval practices of superstition, tradition and fatalism. American missionary and educational efforts had penetrated slowly into some cities, the progress at various places depending upon the skill and personality of the individual. Hospitals built and equipped with American funds were widely distributed over the country. The medical school at Beirut was training local doctors and the profession of medicine was commanding greater respect and attention.

The Turkish government had a medical department in connection with the University of Constantinople. The Catholics had a medical school in Beirut. Many medical students took graduate work in European universities. The young physicians naturally chose to remain in the enlightened, more progressive cities. This left the rural sections practically untouched. The development of the medical profession was not paralleled by a corresponding elevation of the nursing profession. With the exception of the mission hospitals, the nurses were mere helpers and servants, without training and qualifications. This prevented most of the local hospitals from raising the rather low standards of efficiency.

The war broke and the American missionary doctors and nurses remained at their posts of duty. Changing conditions necessitated the closing of some hospitals and the tragedy of the refugees carried many doctors on long marches with the fleeing populations. The hospital at Van was destroyed. Marsovan was requisitioned by the military and looted. The regularized pre-war medical program was shattered by the tragedy. Everything was transformed into emergency measures. The special relief funds could buy food and even some clothing for the myriads of destitute, but there was no way of replenishing the rapidly decreasing medical supplies or replacing or supplementing the staff. It was a brave fight against overpowering odds of undernourishment, epidemics and death.

From the censored fragmentary reports from overseas during the war years it was evident that any armistice relief program required an immediate enlistment of doctors and nurses, re-equipment of the existing hospitals, enlargement of medical facilities and the wide distribution of medicines. Even before the Turkish army collapsed preparations had been made by the Committee for Dr. George H. Washburn, a Boston physician of eminence and son of a former

president of Robert College, familiar with the languages and conditions, to form and lead a medical commission to the Near East. Dr. George L. Richards and Dr. Robert A. Lambert were affiliated with him as associate directors.

Immediately after the armistice all preparations were completed and personnel chosen. The staff consisted of 36 doctors and medical assistants and 50 nurses selected by the Red Cross. Fifteen complete hospital units and adequate medical supplies were purchased. These included surgical instruments, beds, bedding, chinaware, glassware, cutlery, linen, towels, electric lighting units, ice machines, laundry equipment, sterilizers for hospital use and for delousing purposes, chlorinators, vaccines and medicines. Everything essential to the modern hospital equipment and operation was shipped early in 1919 to the Near East. The medical staff and equipment were an important part of the relief personnel and supplies were sent into the Russian Caucasus and Turkey immediately following the cessation of hostilities and the opening of these countries.

Persia had been able to purchase supplies through Baghdad for the minimum medical needs. The Red Cross Commission with Gen. Allenby's army advancing into Syria had replenished largely the medical supplies for this area and the Red Cross personnel had supplemented the American doctors who had remained throughout the war period.

Three medical centers were opened in the Caucasus: one at Erivan, the capital of Armenia; one at Kars, and another at Alexandropol, the great refugee and orphanage center. The mission boards continued to grant to the Committee the free use of their buildings in the interior and the hospitals at Adana, Aintab, Cæsarea, Konia, Kharput, Mardin, Marash, Marsovan and Sivas were re-equipped and restaffed. In co-operation with local agencies and in con-

nection with the rounded relief program, hospitals were established and maintained under American direction at Aleppo, Constantinople, Derindje, Izmit,[1] Samsun and Trebizond.

The warehouses of the Baghdad railroad at Derindje, just east of Constantinople, were used for the storage and distribution of shiploads of relief supplies. There was only this one railroad across Turkey. It touched only a few of the centers of population. Most of the interior was accessible only by long caravan journeys. As an illustration of the transportation difficulties involved in sending a hospital unit, medical equipment, food and hundreds of necessary supplies from Derindje, the port of debarkation, to Kharput, in eastern Turkey on the upper waters of the Euphrates River: goods had to be loaded and carried over the Baghdad railroad to Ulukishla, the last stop before reaching the tunnels of the Taurus mountains. Ulukishla was 500 miles from Kharput. First an attempt was made to use

[1] An interesting description of how a hospital was set up in wartime is contained in Dr. Mabel E. Elliott's book, "Beginning Again at Ararat," as follows:

"We were in Izmit in December, 1920. . . . The building had been a Turkish hospital; Greek troops had been living in it and destroying it as soldiers always do. Within twenty-four hours they had moved out, and on their heels came an army of refugee workers with scrubbing brushes, whitewash pails, panes of glass, papers of putty, cans of paint.

"The ingenuity of these Armenian and Greek refugees, their skill in contrivance, was remarkable. It encouraged me to the enterprise of installing hot and cold water. Lead pipe was found, copper coils were made. I knew nothing of plumbing; neither did these workers. But by sheer intelligence the pipes were connected, the heater was made, the joints were soldered and left uncovered, anxiously to be observed lest they leak; the plumbing system became reality, and worked. We dreamed then of a bathroom. Tiles were found, abandoned in an old German factory wrecked during the war. We confiscated these, made the bathroom and tiled the floor.

"In five weeks there was the hospital, a beautiful place, as sanitary, as modern in every way as one could wish. A hundred beds were in the wards, filled with patients. A clinic was opened. Across the gulf, in Bardizag, we opened headquarters for the war against epidemics."

abandoned autos, left by the retreating German and Turkish armies, and transport the supplies over the improvised roads laid down by the Germans, but it soon was found that these autos were practically useless under existing conditions and so camels were employed. Each animal bore a load of 400 pounds and in long line, slowly but surely, plodded toward the destination, 500 miles away. To reach the interior stations with supplies and personnel every imaginable kind of transportation was employed at one time or another. Camels, ox carts, horse-drawn wagons, automobiles, and in severe weather personnel have had to walk or go on horseback to many places.

The medical staff faced three problems: Sickness and epidemics among the refugee population; the restoring to health of the disease-ridden orphans; and the care of the American and local personnel. The refugees who survived the tragedy were undernourished and weakened by disease. Living in deplorable conditions, they were the easy victims of epidemics and a score of contagious illnesses. Diseases uncommon and even unknown in America were virulent and destructive in the East—typhus, cholera, favus, trachoma and dysentery. Tuberculosis was a white plague. Malaria, intestinal diseases and fevers were the common burden of the people.[1] The hospitals and clinics were overcrowded and the ministry of healing seemed to be unlimited. The slow recovery of the economic situation retarded the rebuilding of wasted bodies and enfeebled constitutions. The continued existence of large, unassimilated refugee populations, living in insanitary conditions, invited the re-occurrence of epidemics. The reports for the years immediately

[1] "Typhoid fever, typhus, malaria and smallpox were among the worst evils to be contended with. Scabies was an almost general complaint, and about 80% of the people were suffering from some form of trachoma, a painful affliction of the eyes."—Forbes-Leith, Col. F.A.C. of the British Expeditionary Forces in Persia, 1915-1917, "Checkmate."

following the armistice were filled with hospital and clinic statistics.[1]

The second problem was the restoration of health to the children gathered from the streets and out of the refugee camps into orphanages.[2] They were dirty, infected with skin diseases, always undernourished and frequently afflicted with trachoma and other diseases slow to cure. The first process of orphanage life was medical. Each institution had its infirmary, its hospital and its daily clinic. Even the menu was supervised by the medical department.

"Ordinarily, medical work among these children would have meant merely establishing hospitals to take care of those who fell ill—in normally conducted institutions, a very small per cent," wrote Dr. Mabel E. Elliott, medical director in the Caucasus. "But in Armenia, we found the medical relief of 30,000 children on our hands. I mean this literally. There was not one healthy child among them.

"The medical work at first was such work as may be done on a battlefield under fire. Diseases that at home would have medical care were here the normal standard of health. As fast as the children could be taken in, they were undressed by nurses with rolled-up sleeves and handy basins

[1] "During the year 1923, 33 hospitals and 61 clinics have been operated, with an average of 395,427 treatments per month. This work is supervised by 8 American doctors, 21 American nurses, 52 local doctors and 121 local nurses; the local doctors and nurses are for the most part well trained but destitute refugees. The Committee has reduced the number of sufferers from trachoma from 65% to 21% among 30,000 children in Armenia and Syria, checked typhus epidemics in Constantinople and Aleppo, and cleaned out the malarial swamp in Samsun."—Secretary's Report, 1924.

[2] "The receiving hospital in the city of Alexandropol is another splendid institution. Here the children are received off the streets, heads clipped, bathed, clothed, as far as our meager supplies will allow, fed and put to bed. They are kept for 24 hours and then given a thorough medical examination and later distributed either to orphanages or hospitals; thus this receiving station has a new set of inmates every day and there are never any empty beds."—Col. Haskell, 1919.

of antiseptics; the rags that were taken off were put with tongs into a fire; the child was bathed, its head was shaved, and it went into the hands of the nurse who dressed its sores. Contagious diseases were isolated as much as possible, but all the children had the contagious diseases of favus and trachoma.

"As rapidly as possible they were sorted out, and the orphanages were graded by scale of diseases. Fourteen hospitals were opened. But every orphanage was also a hospital, every child was a patient, and medical treatment was as much a part of the orphanage routine as meal time. Every morning in Alexandropol the inside of the eyelids of 18,000 children were rubbed with a copper pencil—treatment for trachoma, the eye disease that blinds—and every child had his own copper pencil numbered and filed in a box."

In 1925 Frank Chapin Bray, a correspondent, wrote from the Caucasus:

First of all comes health and the daily lessons in learning how to take care of themselves. Keeping clean is the keynote of the health program in which children and workers co-operate. Clean hands, clean bodies, clean clothes, clean bedding, clean towels, clean floors, clean toilets, clean grounds, clean minds, clean sports—the emphasis is constant. If cleanliness does not become an everyday habit it will not be from lack of line upon line, precept upon precept.

But there are so many of these children, just children, and where they come from ideas of hygiene and sanitation haven't been born yet. Squads of 50 to 100 ranged under shower sprinklers of the bathhouse for their regular bath. Hundreds of children passing into daily clinics. Thousands of children becoming vermin detectives and fly swatters. Obviously, to prevent the spread of transmissible diseases and to instruct every child in personal hygiene and simple home sanitation, is the purpose of the health program, and good results show to even the most superficial observer.

Each orphanage department has a graduate trained nurse and five practical nurses who supervise bathing, prophylactic sulphur baths, use of toilets, examinations and follow-up of clinics. There

are daily medical, surgical, skin and trachoma clinics, and hours scheduled for malnutrition, dental, eye, cardiac, posture and kindergarten baby clinics.

Orphanages that have the lowest sick rate in preventable diseases, and maintain their quarters best, receive a special flag which they are permitted to fly on a standard before the orphanage each week. Instruction in hygiene and sanitation is passed down through group leaders who are given an arm brassard to wear, and posters, charts and graphs are utilized.

Here is the list of topics of twenty-five health talks given this summer to orphanage managers, assistant orphanage managers, teachers and group leaders for transmission: Introductory; germs; flies; teeth; skin; eyes; ears; nose and throat; colds and headaches; lungs and breathing; fresh air; posture; personal habits; milk; food; water; garbage; transfer of disease; sewage; favus; scabies; measles; conjunctivitis ("pink eye"); worms; and lice.

The third problem was the health of the American personnel. The workers daily were exposed to disease. The organization of relief activities involved continuous contact with local people and local conditions. Much of the buying was from local markets. Living conditions were abnormal, and tragic experiences strained and drained nervous energy. Hardly a single member of the relief staff returned without contracting some debilitating illness, some were unable to complete their term of service and others died overseas.

The typhus epidemic in Constantinople in 1923 among the Greek refugees from the Black Sea ports attracted the attention of foreign reporters because it was dramatic and visible. Yet, it was only one example of the continuous medical problem confronting the Committee from the armistice until the last of the refugees arrived in Greece in 1924. The refugees had fled toward the Black Sea from the interior. The port officials forced each steamer bound for Constantinople to take a deck cargo of refugees whether they could pay or not. They were disembarked into detention camps at San Stefano, the Islands and Selimieh Bar-

racks. The local officials hoped to re-ship the refugees to Greece but Greece already was crowded with the mass inundation of earlier months and was awaiting the negotiations at Lausanne. Meanwhile, the refugees were prevented from leaving the typhus-infected confinements. The health conditions threatened the entire city and became a matter for Allied commissioners' interference. When permission finally was secured by the Committee to fight the ravages of typhus and feed the starving refugees the death rate at Selimieh Barracks alone had mounted to one per cent per day, a hundred burials taking place after each sundown. Christopher Thurber, who had just arrived from service at Sivas, where he had been stricken with typhus, his Turkish interpreter, Koudret Bey, and Dr. Wilfred Post, for several years director of a hospital in Konia, volunteered to organize the fight against the epidemic and to distribute emergency rations of soup, bread and other foods. The old Turkish army barracks, visible from any tourist ship, made famous because Florence Nightingale had nursed British soldiers there during the Crimean war, again attracted world attention. A struggle of modern medicine and organization against pestilence and disease was being waged, with the lives of 9,000 refugees at stake. An American reporter visiting Constantinople came to see and himself contracted typhus but, with others, he told the graphic story to a sympathetic, responsive American public. Other workers were waging a similar battle in other camps. Harry Flint, a resident of Constantinople, volunteered during this emergency. He directed a feeding station, as carefully protected as medical science could prescribe, yet he fell ill with the dreaded disease and made the supreme sacrifice. Two American doctors, an American nurse and two administrators were victims of typhus and only after long weeks of uncertainty recovered. During this one epidemic ten Greek doctors, cooperating in the relief efforts, died from the disease.

Above: Refugees, earning their bread, restoring irrigation canals destroyed by war at Erivan, Armenia. *Below:* The muddy, impassable streets of Tabriz, Teheran and Hamadan were reconstructed by refugee labor.

Above: A refugee Russian woman of good family, widowed during the flight of the White Army, supports herself with work from the Near East Industries. *Below:* The same woman dressed in some of her own handiwork. This work, which includes table linen, bags, handkerchiefs and handwoven and embroidered silk, is marketed in America.

Another type of medical problem continually confronting the Committee was the protection of the orphanages and orphans against infection from an unhealthy surrounding community and the making of the community safe and healthy for the outplaced child. This is illustrated by the situation at Corinth in 1923-24. The Greek government had provided places for some 18,000 alien children in spite of an overwhelming influx of refugees. Among the quarters which were designated for orphanages were the army barracks at Corinth, situated above the town. Two thousand children were sent there and organized into an orphanage school by Miss Emma Cushman. Soon an epidemic of malaria attacked the children, few escaping. The barracks apparently were isolated from the rest of the community but not immune to malaria carriers. Some counseled the immediate abandonment of Corinth and distribution of the orphans to other overcrowded institutions. Miss Alice Carr, the American nurse in charge of the health of the children, protested. She argued the afflicted orphans would be carriers of the disease to all other orphanages, and then added: "If we Americans cannot rid the community of mosquitoes and stamp out the pest how can the local population be expected to free themselves from the devitalizing effect of continuing malarial attacks?" Her arguments were unanswerable. Her plan of action was approved and she proceeded to exhort the town officials, the women and the gendarmerie. She organized a work group of fifty older orphan boys with picks and spades. She opened a clinic in the town and purchased a quantity of kerosene. She started the boys opening a channel to drain the old innerport of ancient Corinth and the adjacent marshes. Personally accompanied by a gendarme, either walking or riding a donkey, she inspected every back yard, every stagnant pool and ordered them drained. If upon a second inspection they were untouched she poured oil in their open cisterns and over pools.

She inspected, within a radius of three miles, the vineyards and farms that surrounded the town and insisted on their covering their irrigating reservoirs and draining their overgrown ditches. Seven hundred and eighty-five open cisterns were covered, 20 uncovered irrigation reservoirs were oiled, a small stream channeled, a swamp drained, fifty miles of irrigation ditches opened. During the campaign 300 homes were visited daily and 2,000 pounds of petroleum were used weekly. Within a year malaria was eradicated from Corinth. A few recurrent cases continued to be treated at the clinic. The orphanage remained in the army barracks, free from malaria. A lasting service was rendered to the orphans and the community by the vigilant, untiring efforts of an American nurse, supported by local ordinances, in removing every possible breeding place for the malaria-carrying mosquito. There was no medium of transmitting; the malignant cases could be treated and cured. From that time until the recent earthquake, Corinth was a healthful community and an increasingly favorite summer resort.

The place and importance of American doctors and nurses in restoring sick, infected, undernourished orphans to normal well-being and the maintenance of a high standard of health cannot be overestimated. It was these persisting problems which required the presence of an American nurse in each institution and the general supervision of an American medical director for each area. In the fifteen years of operation 51 American physicians and 106 American nurses were sent to the Near East. The efficient results obtained by the medical department are evident from the reports of 1926. Deaths among children in the orphanages were held down to the low rate of 2.48 per thousand. Dr. Jesse K. Marden and Dr. Albert Dewey were directors of this orphanage health program for a number of years. Their knowledge of the languages and local diseases and their ability to work with local doctors were invaluable to the

program. Medical policies were determined and maintained by a department in the national office of the Committee, under the directorship of Dr. William F. Dodd, formerly for many years a medical missionary in Turkey. Upon his death in 1928 he was succeded by Dr. Wilfred Post.

Health measures became a part of the orphanage curriculum.[1] One of the permanent results of daily insistence upon cleanliness and kindred subjects has been that the vast numbers of children have integrated themselves in the common life of several Eastern countries, carrying with them definite and practical health knowledge. They know that malaria is carried by the mosquito. They understand that scabies and trachoma are contagious. They have learned the value and use of available medical facilities. They are familiar with the common and simple remedies for the more prevalent illnesses. They appreciate the values of cleanliness, sanitation and public co-operation in community health. These ideas and practices, planted in thousands of villages and towns, should affect medical interest and raise standards of well-being in communities.

The requests of the outplaced orphans, some of them living in remote villages without access to a doctor or clinic, led to the equipment of itinerant health wagons, with a

[1] An American writer gives the following description of the method of inspecting the children used in the orphanages:

"It is a warm Saturday afternoon. Long, long lines of unbleached muslin-clad small boys are marching from their Homes toward a common point. What is it that calls every boy on the Post on this Saturday afternoon? There, before the door of the Clinic, the doctors are waiting for the general inspection. It is the one time when all the children can be gotten together—none excused for academic or trade school, none for bath or dining room service, or for any of the thousand and one duties in which the boys take a hand. All other operations are suspended for the general medical examination. House mothers and their group leaders are checking up by lists. There is a doctor who looks at the eyes, another at scalp and skin, one is looking for deformities of the body and a fourth for signs denoting any sort of ill health. Each boy as he approaches strips to his waist and stands for the scrutiny. The sun is warm, the light bright, nothing is hidden and each boy from the first to the five thousandth is checked on the clinic list and the necessary entries are made."

regular schedule to the villages. The service was not restricted to the orphans but was extended to the entire community. The program was first introduced into the Caucasus and later adopted in Syria.

The training of orphans to become nurses is recorded in a later chapter on education. This will prove to be one of the permanent legacies for future health and sanitation.

The Committee has maintained from the beginning an extensive medical program adapted to meet changing conditions and during these years it has made some interesting special contributions to the Near East. It has assisted in the publication of certain health readers and manuals. In Greece material was gathered by announcing a competition, and from the best Greek suggestions a health manual was prepared under the direction of the American medical staff. Thousands of copies were printed by the Greek Junior Red Cross and distributed to the public schools of Greece. A manual for nursing, based largely upon American nursing textbooks, has been translated into both Greek and Armenian.

The medical department was responsible for the care of the physically and mentally defective child. In the solution of these problem cases the co-operation of local agencies and governments was enlisted, resulting often in the development of special programs and institutions for handicapped children.

Tuberculosis was a great scourge, which followed as a natural consequence of malnutrition and life in refugee camps. The death rate from this dread disease was appallingly high. Crowded living conditions, with no segregation of the sick, aggravated the situation. In addition to the special care and consideration given to children suffering from tuberculosis, various efforts were made to co-operate with local authorities and local organizations in common action against the increase and spread of the disease, as the

problem was too large for private philanthropy. Milk, which was given generously by the school children of America, was distributed to the undernourished and potentially tubercular children. Summer camps were maintained in several areas which served as improvised preventoria. Special funds made it possible to erect for orphaned children a model tuberculosis pavilion in Greece. The plans were drawn by an American expert and the organization received the cooperation of both American and local societies in this endeavor toward the cure and prevention of tuberculosis.

American doctors serving in the Near East had unusual opportunities for studying certain diseases prevalent in the various countries. Two of the most common and at the same time baffling diseases were favus and trachoma. Many of the children when admitted into the orphanages were afflicted with favus, a most virulent and stubborn scalp disease. The use of a "tar cap," a native method of treatment, was excruciatingly painful and not altogether effective. The medical department substituted the careful use of the X-ray which was painless, removed the old hair, healed the scalp and stimulated new growth. Various methods of treatment were applied to the cure of trachoma, which in the earlier orphanage periods afflicted a majority of the orphans. This "curse of Asia," as the disease often is called, challenged the efforts of several eye specialists serving the organization.[1] A report covering the electric dia-

[1] Dr. Robert A. Lambert, medical director of the Syrian area, reported in 1921:

"The importance of hygienic conditions in the treatment as well as the prevention of trachoma has been well demonstrated in the comparison of two orphanages in Aleppo. One was newly established with 800 children, quartered in army tents in a well ordered camp with large playgrounds and ample bathing facilities, with no crowding and strict personal hygiene for all. The other, with 1,600 children, occupied dirty, poorly lighted, stone buildings with inadequate bathing facilities and much over crowding. The class of children admitted was the same. The incidence of trachoma was approximately 60% in each orphanage. Identical methods of treatment at the two institutions resulted in a majority of cases at the camp orphanage being dismissed cured, while in the other there were few cures dismissed and many new developments."

thermy experiments and results was published in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

The Committee co-operated with local hospitals, strengthening them wherever possible. In Samsun a neglected local hospital was reorganized and placed under the supervision of an American nurse, assisted by a Turkish doctor. The children and refugees were hospitalized in this rejuvenated institution. The management and responsibility were gradually transferred to Turkish administration as a permanent city hospital.

In Constantinople the organization co-operated with the local Red Cross and representatives of American institutions and business operating in Turkey in the establishment of the American hospital by furnishing a part of the original equipment. It paid for the care of a large number of refugees and children rather than establish a special emergency hospital and during recent years several grants have been made toward the maintenance of the nurses' training school in connection with the hospital.

In the program of health and sanitation the Committee has had the fullest co-operation of the nursing division of the American Red Cross, which selected all the nurses for overseas service and participated in the nursing program.

The American Women's Hospitals co-operated in various practical ways over a period of years. Several women doctors were appointed, equipped and their salaries paid by that organization, and their services contributed to the medical program of the Committee. For one year the salaries of all the doctors and nurses in the Caucasus area were paid by them. For several months the same contribution of personnel was made in the Greek area. Dr. Mabel Elliott, whose experiences have been told in "Beginning Again at Ararat," was for several years associated with the medical department of the Committee as a representative of the American Women's Hospitals. Dr. Esther Lovejoy,

its director, made frequent visits overseas and aroused a deep interest in the medical needs of the Near East among the women doctors of America.

The Committee is under a deep debt of gratitude to the American doctors and nurses who, without thought of themselves, carried to the Near East the standards of efficiency and service characteristic of their profession, who faced the personal dangers of epidemics and disease without consideration of their own well-being and who carried a ministry of healing and the hope of life to the stricken peoples of the Near East. Their leadership was supported by the corps of local doctors and nurses who gave unsparingly of themselves in this service to suffering humanity.

PART FIVE
CHILD CARE AND TRAINING

CHAPTER XV

RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILDREN ACCEPTED

THE child was the center about which the relief work revolved for many years. The appeal of the orphan touched the heartstrings of the entire country and the response was unfailing. The helping hand of sponsored parenthood reached down into the depths of refugee misery, picked out the homeless waifs and did not let go until these, earth's neglected children, had been lifted to self-support and started on the paths of citizenship in a new Near East.

In the beginning the children were interspersed with the adults in the common refugee problem. They moved with the caravans of destitution or were buried by the wayside. They were fed a bowl of soup or given a crust of bread. The emergency made no distinction—the old and the young endured or perished. At the end of the second year the reports from overseas contained repeated references to the child problem as distinguished from the general refugee questions, of orphans needing special care and consideration. In Russia, the Caucasus, Turkey, and Syria, the child was emerging, attracting attention and sympathy. The relief workers recognized the responsibilities involved in the great and growing mass of homeless childhood. The relief funds were uncertain and would not warrant the establishment of orphanages on a scale adequate to care for all the waifs. Social welfare practice directed that half-orphans should be kept with their mothers and orphans should be maintained with their village groups. Even in the interior of Turkey, where the unused mission school buildings were turned into shelters for unclaimed children, deposits of the tragic days

of 1915, the relief workers did not venture to call them orphanages. They were just temporary homes until some relative or parental friend should return from exile at the close of the war and remake the home.

The emergency character of the relief work was emphasized constantly. Anything that implied a continuing responsibility was dismissed as outside the immediate financial capacities of the Committee. Aid could be given to children gathered in refugee camps without assuming a continuing obligation should contributions to the relief funds seriously decline. As one member of the Committee expressed it: "A child, left on the doorstep on a cold winter night, in a condition insuring death unless taken into the warm house, places no legal obligations upon the owner of the house to take the child in and care for it, though it perish during the night. But, if the owner once takes the child into his arms and keeps it just for the night he cannot put it again on the doorstep and jeopardize its life without incurring a legal responsibility." There was a recognition of moral responsibility on the part of the Committee if it authorized the relief workers overseas to segregate the vast number of children into orphanages which caused the Committee to hesitate until it was confident that the public, which was supporting the work, would continue even after the war was over. There would have been a second tragedy in the separation of these children in the camps from the friends and mothers if they were kept for a few months in an orphanage home and then the Committee was forced to open the doors and order them out into a life of vagabondage.

Contributions prior to 1918 had not been sufficient to meet the general relief appeals from the various areas. When, toward the close of that year, the Turkish defense weakened and a Turkish armistice seemed imminent, the Committee decided to launch a special campaign for

$30,000,000 for nearly three million people of the Near East, more than half of whom were exiles, to be repatriated and rehabilitated. The lowest estimate of the number of orphans in the mass of refugees was 100,000 and the highest 150,000. At least $5.00 a month would be required to care for each child, making a monthly budget of not less than $500,000. These figures of numbers and needs were based upon the best possible information from the war-censored areas. The campaign began in January, 1919. The response was phenomenal. With the gifts that poured in came the assurance that the people of America would stand by until the relief task was completed. During the year $19,485,000 was received in the National office. This gratifying financial response enabled the Committee to undertake a large part of the original rehabilitation, health and refugee program and it justified the officers issuing instructions to the workers to undertake an orphanage program for the homeless children with the assurance of ultimate completion.

The orphanage activities which have occupied the major attention of the Committee during the last ten years were not undertaken by accident but only after careful consideration of all the facts overseas and at home. Whenever the relief funds were inadequate for the whole program, after this date, the child was given the first claim and attention. There was no question in the minds of the executive officers and the Committee that the greatest good to the Greek, Syrian, Armenian and other races, would be achieved by saving and training their orphaned children. They were the hope of the future. If given sound bodies and well-trained minds they could help shape that future.

The tragedy of the earlier years had left a harvest of orphans and half-orphans. The fact that such large numbers survived was a striking tribute to the sacrificial spirit of the adults, especially the mothers, who gave everything that the children might carry on, somehow, the glory of

their former homes and prosperity. It was a testing of human devotion in the midst of starvation and death. These children were not the by-products of irregular home life, they were the sons and daughters of the intellectual and business leaders of the Empire. They were a cross section of the race, children of merchants, farmers, teachers and craftsmen. They were blighted in their schooling and starved in body and soul. They were gathered from the highways and the refugee camps, wandering vagabonds searching for a morsel of food, ragged waifs casting their uncertain lot with the old, the decrepit and the sick. Disease, from the insanitary, crowded camps, had covered many with repulsive sores and made them untouchable. They lived in dirt and filth without a change of clothing for their shredded rags, vermin infested. The unclean, wizened, emaciated, pathetic faces, pleading for bread, gave no hint of a forgotten happiness, an abandoned home. Hunger was stalking about on feeble skeleton legs, in a leather, mummified skin stretched tightly over protruding bones with eyes that did not see but only stared. From such as these was to come the recreated childhood of tomorrow, the hope of a new Near East.

The decision of the Committee authorizing the relief workers to assume responsibility for orphans and gather them from the refugee camps into institutions determined the major policy and program of the organization from 1919 onward and classified the Committee as an international child welfare agency of unprecedented scope and size. American methods were adapted to the divergent and emergency conditions in the various countries of the Near East. Social welfare practices were supplemented and where necessary readjusted and modified to meet the changing situation. The following chapters are the record of the application and the adaptation of child welfare methods and edu-

Refugee women at Salonika sorting and repairing used clothing from America.

Above: Two ragged waifs receive a ration of clothing from Near East Relief. *Below:* Many an article thought too shabby to repair was turned into stout utilitarian wearing apparel by refugee labor.

cational processes to the solution of the gigantic orphan problem involving 132,000 children.

Careful investigation revealed the fact that not all these waifs gathered into orphanages were full orphans. In the slow readjustment following the war, in the efforts to reunite broken families, mothers, aunts, relatives of the second and third degree were located and the child replaced under family responsibility. The children with a known refugee relative were not separated from even slender family ties. Supplementary rations were distributed to the child, frequently to the destitute mother or relative and the broken family was kept together. The children under these refugee conditions had fewer opportunities than the full orphans in the institution where all the necessities of life were provided, including education, but the half-orphan had a semblance of a home, had individual affection and care, and when the refugee in later years was the recipient of a new home from the Settlement Commission, the half-orphan, without further adjustment, was restored to normal community relationship even though under scanty living conditions.

This burden of the orphans of the Near East was not thrust upon America, nor was it borne alone. Prior to the World War the various races had provided child and social welfare institutions for the handicapped. The minorities of Turkey had maintained not only adequate schools but orphanages, hospitals, institutions for the feeble in mind and body, by a self-imposed tax on the communities through the channel of the church. The Turkish government, from the state treasury, had built and operated orphanages for Turkish children. But a catastrophe swept over the Near East; institutions, churches, schools, were stricken from the social structure. People who had given generously were beggars. Where there had been ten orphans before, now there were

thousands knocking pitifully for shelter and stretching out suppliant hands. Wherever the local institutions continued to function, as in Constantinople, although overcrowded and pathetically short of funds, the Committee supplemented their brave efforts by supplying foodstuffs. For the purpose of stimulating local gifts and responsibility the Committee agreed to double all contributions collected from the various national groups.[1]

The organization of orphanages for this mob of neglected children, even after the decision was taken by the Committee, was a slow and difficult process. The first problem was housing. In the Armenian province of the Caucasus the frontier posts of the Russian army had built enormous blocks of stone buildings, adequate to provide winter quarters for fifteen to twenty thousand troops, at Kars and Alexandropol. After the collapse of Russia these barracks and warehouses had been abandoned and refugees used them for shelter, taking the removable wood for fuel and warmth and leaving the buildings dilapidated and uninhabitable. These buildings were the only available space for nearly 30,000 unhoused orphans in the Caucasus in 1919. Extensive repairs were made, windows replaced, equipment

[1] Relation between the Near East Relief and the Armenian, Catholic, Greek, Jewish and Turkish Orphanage Committees, Constantinople.

During the coming months, the Near East Relief agrees (with the possibility of renewal of these agreements) to contribute towards the maintenance of the orphanages under the jurisdiction of these committees an amount equivalent to the sum which shall be raised by these committees in Constantinople for the support of these orphanages.

The Near East Relief does not agree to double any funds which may be either from Government sources or contributions from outside organizations. It is understood that the amount which the Near East Relief will contribute shall at no time exceed 50 percent of the total operating expenses of the orphanages.

Further, the Near East Relief reserves the right to make recommendations and suggestions relative to the management of the orphanages and through its auditing department to audit the accounts of the orphanages in order that full reports may be made to the Near East Relief Committee on the money which has been appropriated from Near East Relief funds.

(Signed) Managing Director.

furnished and the largest orphanage city in the world was organized and maintained at Alexandropol with a second city of children of lesser size installed in Kars.[1]

In the interior of Turkey the relief workers had collected stray children into the unused school buildings belonging to the American Board of Missions and fed and clothed them. The armistice made these stations accessible. The surrounding country was investigated and the orphan children brought into these centrally-equipped cities and the groups organized into orphanages with American supervision and local helpers. During the succeeding years, until the evacuation in 1923, the buildings and properties of the Mission Board in the interior were used to capacity by the relief workers without charge to the relief funds. In addition, the Armenian monastery at Efkere, the Turkish orphanage at Zinsidere, both near Cæsarea; the Turkish orphanages at Sivas and at Samsun; the Armenian Catholic orphanage at Angora; the Armenian and Greek orphanages at Smyrna and several rented places and buildings in interior cities were occupied as orphanage institutions and operated by the Committee. In Constantinople the local orphanages were inadequate to hold the homeless children and the Committee rented, at a nominal price, unused Turkish palaces along the Bosporus, where transportation was convenient. In Syria and Palestine former schools or orphanages were

[1] "The physical dimensions of the three major orphanage posts of Polygon, Kazachi, and Seversky, all in the city of Alexandropol, are enormous. To say that there are 170 buildings in the three posts may help one to comprehend the size of the job; among them are half a dozen warehouses somewhere near 1,000 feet long, about 40 two-story converted barracks of capacities ranging from 250 up to 1,000 child inhabitants, school buildings of 24 to 30 classrooms, all kinds and sizes of service buildings, administration, medical, policing, fueling, lighting, cooking, baking, laundries, bath houses, etc. Stables and garages are important because the railroad touches only one post and supplies of every kind must be transported to the other separate centers on the outskirts of the town four miles distant. By the way, it is worth remembering that the roads connecting these posts were remade by refugee labor paid for by Near East Relief in rations of corn grits."—From an article by FRANK C. BRAY.

utilized and in Persia, where buildings were not available without cost, houses were rented temporarily. All this was the first housing problem.[1]

The second housing problem followed the evacuation of nearly 30,000 Greek and Armenian orphans from the interior of Turkey and Constantinople to Greece and Syria in 1922 and 1923. The orphanage centers in eastern and southeastern Turkey—Kharput, Malatya, Diarbekr, Mardin, Urfa, Marash, Aintab and Adana—were transferred to Syria. There were no unoccupied orphanage or school buildings available. Abandoned silk mills were rented. Children's portable colonies were erected. Jebail school and Antilyas were purchased. Twelve thousand Armenian children necessitated the reorganization of the relief program in Syria. Their organization, training and adjustment have been the principal task of the Committee in the last seven years in Syria.

The orphans were only a small part of the exiled masses of refugees that descended upon Greece in 1922-23 from Turkey. Every available nook and shelter was requisitioned by the government in an heroic effort to place every refugee

[1] "The Committee occupies in various parts of the Near East more than 300 buildings that, at a conservative estimate, may be valued at $6,000,000. In addition, the hundred or more stone buildings which we now occupy without expense in the Russian Caucasus, built as Russian army barracks, doubtless cost several millions of dollars.

"The orphanage which we occupy in Jerusalem, built by the Germans, with typical thoroughness, substantial, with its independent electric plant, machine shop, schools for teaching various trades and adjoining farm, represented, before the war, an outlay of more than $1,250,000. By courtesy of the military governor of Palestine we have had it free of expense for orphanage purposes.

"In Constantinople we have, likewise without expense, the finest bakery in the Turkish Empire, with modern machinery from Germany, built during the war for the purpose of feeding German and Turkish troops. In this bakery we now turn out every day 25,000 loaves of bread for the various orphanages in the vicinity of Constantinople. The bread weighs more than two pounds per loaf, making a total output of more than twenty-five tons of bread per day from this one bakery."—From 1920 Report of the General Secretary.

under a tent or roof for the first winter. All the schools, theaters, barracks, hotels, palaces, warehouses, tents and improvised shacks were inadequate to house the 1,400,000 homeless new arrivals. In addition the Committee requested the Greek government to provide accommodations for 18,000 orphans. The answer was the fullest measure of cooperation as outlined in a preceding chapter.

The second major problem was food for the army of children scattered in orphanages thousands of miles apart. The various countries emerged from the World War as from a famine. The unsettled conditions and mass movements of population which did not stabilize for another five years, left an annual shortage of food. The bulk of the Committee's supplies were purchased and shipped from America. The requests of these orphanage cities of hungry children were met by regular monthly shipments of flour, beans, cocoa, grits, milk, macaroni, rice, etc., to Constantinople, Batum, Beirut and Piræus. The daily menu arranged in consultation with the medical department seemed the simplification of simple living. Every visitor noted the abundance of bread, supplemented with one single ration of soup, vegetable, dried fruit or olives, but never two extra items at the same meal. The menu, though simple, was well balanced and the quantities amply sufficient for growing childhood. But every day necessitated three meals and the quantity these children consumed yearly made a complicated purchasing and distributing problem for the supply department, both in America and overseas, best illustrated by a statement of the yearly requirements for one area, the Caucasus, where 25,000 were being fed: 1,175,040 pounds of beans; 146,880 pounds of cocoa; 5,702,400 pounds of flour wheat; 250,560 pounds of figs; 246,240 pounds of raisins; 708,480 pounds of grits; 905,940 pounds of milk; 146,880 pounds of oil; 259,200 pounds of macaroni; 648,000 pounds of rice; 432,000 pounds of salt; 518,400 pounds of

sugar; 2,160 pounds of tea; 56,160 pounds of tomatoes; 56,160 pounds of vinegar; 518,400 pounds of beets; 1,058,400 pounds of cabbage; 259,200 pounds of carrots; 518,400 pounds of onions; and 1,080,000 pounds of potatoes, making a total of 14,688,900 pounds of supplies. Contributed supplies of canned milk, corn grits and other foodstuffs from individuals and organizations helped in the economic operation, as the item of food in the budget was a severe drain upon the finances. The unprepared food supplies cost approximately two dollars per child per month. The rations sent from America were augmented by the purchase of local supplies, especially vegetables, and occasionally meats and fish. Later, as local conditions improved, more native foodstuffs were available and added to the variety of the menu.

Institutional life required mass cooking, mass feeding and mass serving. Under the general supervision of personnel the boys and girls did most of the actual work in the bakeries, in the kitchens and in the dining rooms. It was a part of the self-help organization of the orphanage, installed as a factor in training and as a matter of economy of operation.

The third great problem was clothes. The little ragged urchins not only needed a change of clothing but every child had to be supplied regularly with a winter equipment. The cold Caucasus winters demanded sweaters and overcoats as protection against the cold and snow. Underwear, blouses, trousers, dresses, stockings and shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, towels, bedding, etc., had to be provided, washed and cared for. Work clothes were needed for the shops and the farms. One respectable outfit was kept for special occasions. The cloth was purchased largely in America and the children sewed it into clothes. Thread and knitting machines were sent overseas and the boys and girls made their own stockings. The shoe shops, utilizing the part-time labor of hundreds of boys, made all the shoes. The equipment of each child was the handiwork of the orphans themselves.

The organization of these orphanage units, usually called American schools by the local people, while not precisely uniform, followed similar lines of development and management. Institutions with more than 1,000 children had an American director and an American nurse in charge of the hospital, clinic and general health, with a local doctor assistant. The director was responsible for the general administration, the personnel, the finances and the supplies. The form of organization, the relation of departments, the educational program, the accounting instruction, the purchase of general supplies, except fish, vegetables and meats available in the local markets, were determined and executed by the area director and the area departments.

Each orphanage reflected something of the personality of the director. The organization was fortunate in having strong, individual leadership combined with a spirit of co-operation. At the monthly meetings of the area directors, the comparative costs of operation and changes of program were frankly discussed and, if necessary, revised with an attitude of friendly competition. The largest single factor in the success of the orphanage program was the leadership of the carefully chosen American directors. Many of these developed a real genius for child training understanding and organization. They approached the children with a deep sense of sympathy which soon expanded into affection and to which the children responded beyond all expectations.

The American nurse, with Red Cross experience, was the institutional representative of the area medical director. The children before being received into the orphanage passed through a temporary receiving station, where the first health measures were taken—delousing, bathing, isolation for infectious diseases and special feeding for advanced cases of undernourishment. During the first years of the orphanage program the medical department had first claim on the schedule and the time of the individual or-

phan. A majority of the children required regular clinic treatment for trachoma and the other persistent illnesses. Supplemental feeding and medical prescriptions were given at the time of the noonday meal. Hospitalization, owing to the limited space, was reserved for the very ill; casuals were treated in the crowded dormitories. Dental clinics were a part of the medical program. Treatments for favus, operations and special cases usually were transferred to a central area hospital under the supervision of the medical director. The clinic cases of tuberculosis of the lungs and the bones were segregated into preventoria and sanitaria. The chapter on health amplifies the medical needs and program.

Some orphanage units with a larger number of children, or where special vocational education programs were developed, had other American supervisors on the staff. The following chapters contain the story of educational administration, curriculum and method as they were adapted to the problem of training the orphans for economic self-support at sixteen and for citizenship in new fatherlands.

Within the local orphanage the application of the educational program was made by a corps of local teachers, many of whom had received a part of their training in the schools maintained by the various mission boards in Turkey and in the American colleges at Constantinople, Smyrna and Beirut. The availability of some experienced teachers, speaking English and familiar with Western ideas, was the most important single factor in the unusual progress noted in the orphanage schools. The understanding local personnel diffused ideas and helped to create an attitude of friendliness among the other members of the teaching staff and through them to the children themselves. The testimony of a traveler in the Near East is of special interest:

"I was particularly impressed by the high quality of the teachers and leaders. No small credit should go to the mission and other American schools from which have come

the great majority of the teachers and other mature native workers of Near East Relief. They are interested, well trained and professional in their attitude. For the most part they are serving in larger ways than in merely teaching, for they have many other responsibilities. The principals and other special teachers are equipped for important positions, some of them holding high degrees from European institutions. It has been the stress and the utter breakdown of the regular economic life that has made it possible for Near East Relief to secure, for such small salaries, men and women of such high caliber."

As soon as some of the boys and girls were old enough to take normal courses they were trained to teach the younger children, for many of the orphans were taken into the institutions as little tots following the Smyrna catastrophe in 1922-23.[1]

[1] "From one branch of the refugee work we have, fortunately, not yet withdrawn our support, and I hope it will be a long time before we do: the work of the Near East Relief for children. Most of the war-orphans in Greece are cared for outside Athens, but the Zappeon orphanage in that city shelters 500 boys under the supervision of an American matron. It is located in an old exhibition building and seems to the outsider almost as lacking in the necessary equipment for the task with which it is coping as the converted stone stable in Nazareth. But somehow the work goes on. Sick children are healed, well children are taught (and among 'well' children are those who are deaf and dumb, those who are maimed, and those who are blind, who require, of course, special aid and consideration) and all are fed and warmed and covered. Besides preparing for the trades which are in after life to be most useful to them, many of them have already learned to write and speak excellent English; the weaving and painting done by others reveals real talent; there is an orchestra of stringed instruments made up wholly of blind children and a brass band which could hold its own anywhere. Grouped in the open circular court, surrounded by white Corinthian columns, which forms the center of the building, the band played while the marine scouts and the boy scouts and a score of other boys dressed in Greek national costume performed some of their graceful native dances for us; but before the dancing began, the band played—while everyone of those 500 children stood at attention—'The Star Spangled Banner.' I was not a bit ashamed of the tears that were streaming down my cheeks long before the stirring air was finished, for never have I heard it played under conditions and amid surroundings that seemed to me so moving; and turning covertly to look at the 'two young men,' I saw that their eyes were wet also."—From "Good Housekeeping," January, 1927, Frances Parkinson Keyes.

Recreation was an integral part of the daily program under the supervision of special leaders, usually graduates from the American colleges in the Near East. Gymnastics and organized play were included in the school schedule and occupied a period each day. In addition there was the free play hour, usually at the end of the day, devoted to games.

Religious instruction was included in the school curriculum in keeping with the practice in local schools. Teachers approved by the various religions of which the children were communicants taught the lessons assigned by the church. On special occasions and on Sundays the children, personnel and Americans, met for common worship and inspiration. Wherever daily religious education was not a common practice in the other schools the organization substituted ethical instruction in the curriculum.

The individual orphanage organizations were co-ordinated through the area headquarters and the internal divisions operated through the area departments of finance, supplies, health, education and orphans' records and assignments, each of which was supervised by an American director. The whole organization functioned for the ultimate development of untutored, undisciplined child life into potential manhood and womanhood. Never did a child welfare organization face more baffling problems, and there were no precedents for their solution. Starved, diseased, unschooled children formed the raw material that had to be remolded and remade. Many had no remembrance of parents or home. Others had a dim recollection of a tragic upheaval followed by confusion, wandering and a terrific struggle for existence. Only the hardy could survive the physical testings of those days, months and even years of neglect and hunger. Social instincts had been crushed in the selfish quest for food. Suspicion and fear overshadowed their lives, for they had dwelt in continual insecurity and uncertainty. Few of the older children had attended school since

the outbreak of the war, when education ceased. The smaller children had received no education and scarcely recognized the simplest expression in their mother tongue. But underneath the animal instincts of self-preservation, beneath the diseased, underfed body and forbidding exterior, there lay hidden the potentialities of youth to be nourished and trained for leadership in an emerging new Near East.

This was the task to which the relief workers devoted themselves: feeding the body back to normal, training the mind into ways of usefulness and building character for the purposes of life. The tragic past had to be effaced by new activities and every child taught the simple art of smiling.

Dr. Chester B. Emerson, chairman of the Michigan State Committee, after visiting the orphanages of the Near East wrote regarding the children he met in his journeys:

"I saw them first on the island of Corfu, Greece, where so many have dreamed of empire since the legendary days of Ulysses. There were hundreds of them up there in the outbuildings of Kaiser Wilhelm's former winter palace. There had been a tableau of George Washington blessing the children whom he had saved. Then eight hundred boys stood up and sang 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee'—all four verses without a book. That was hard enough to bear but when they sang 'Way Down Upon the Swanee River,' and rose to its climax:

> " 'All the world is sad and dreary,
> Everywhere I roam'

the hearts of their hearers broke. Where were their mothers? With the other martyrs—in the arms of God!

"I heard them sing again in sight of the old temple at Corinth before which St. Paul spoke for and in the name of Him who was a friend to little children. Twenty-five hundred of them, about equally divided between boys and girls, filed into an open air dining room improvised from the old horse sheds of the Greek army. And there, with bowed

heads they chanted an old medieval grace before they sat down to their dinner of pea soup and bread. How many children at home that very day, picking the bones of fried chicken, never thought of thanks! There on the sands outside, with only the sky for a covering, lay a thousand little pallets side by side where night folded them in while God hung out his stars for candlelight.

"What more shall I say? For time would fail me to tell of the boys of Jebail who were breaking stone and mending roadways, or learning to be artificers of silver; of that group that have built a whole wooden village with their own hands at Ibrahim; of those sturdy youngsters who have excavated and rebuilt the old mill and outbuildings in another village; of the hundreds of girls in eighteen buildings high up in the Lebanons at Ghazir, learning to weave the finest oriental rugs, even carding and dyeing and spinning the wool; of the lacemakers in Beirut, etc. Where are they not? There were babies under the very eaves of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. In Nazareth, across the narrow street from the church that keeps worship over the cave of the Holy Family, boys of twelve were learning to be carpenters. They are even going to school by the hundreds in the courtyards of the great church and monastery that occupy the site of the house of our Lord's brother, James, in Jerusalem.

"And when they sang 'Praise God from Whom all blessings flow,' they looked not so much up as out, as though they thought the divine providences were living in America. If 'mercy and goodness is following all their days' as they recited the psalm so feelingly, they know quite well whose human hands are conveying it. All hail those wonderful men and women who are carrying this saving ministry to the Old World! They give us a right to hope for our country."

Discipline was essential to organizational efficiency and

as a corrective for years of homeless existence, but it was never military in rigidity nor oppressive to individual initiative. Visitors from America invariably commented on the obvious results of an unusually effective combination of discipline and freedom in each orphanage. The individual was never submerged and lost in the mass. In classes they were called by their names. Numbers were used only to mark their clothing and to facilitate the keeping of records. The directors, the teachers and personnel were chosen because of their interest and devotion to the children and they in return were the recipients of the loyalty and hero worship of the orphans who lavished the accumulated surplus of hitherto unexpressed affection upon these, their new foster parents. The intimacy of these orphanage days still continues in correspondence between the graduates and their former directors.

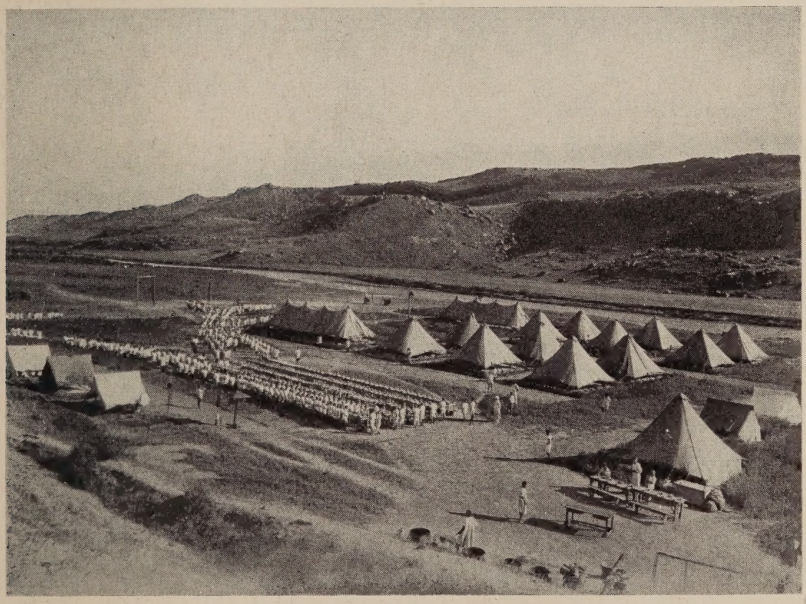
Illustrations from orphanage life record some of the problems of the early days and the responsive attitude of the children. A traveler reported that soon after the influx of orphans into Greece he was standing one evening, with the American director, in the rotunda of the Zappeon, which had been turned over to the orphans by the Greek government. Boys passed by into one of the great halls, singly and in groups. After a brief time one of the larger boys approached the director and saluting said, "The boys are in bed." The director recognized the report and said: "By the way, wouldn't you like to see the boys in the dormitory?" As they entered the marble hall they saw six hundred beds neatly spread upon the floor in geometrical order and in each bed there was a boy. At the door of the hall stood this boy as sentinel. It was his duty to see that every boy remained in bed and that they did not disturb the others. This responsibility rotated among the older boys and made adult night supervision of each dormitory room unnecessary.

Children of varying ages began their first lessons together. From an orphanage in the interior of Turkey the director reported:

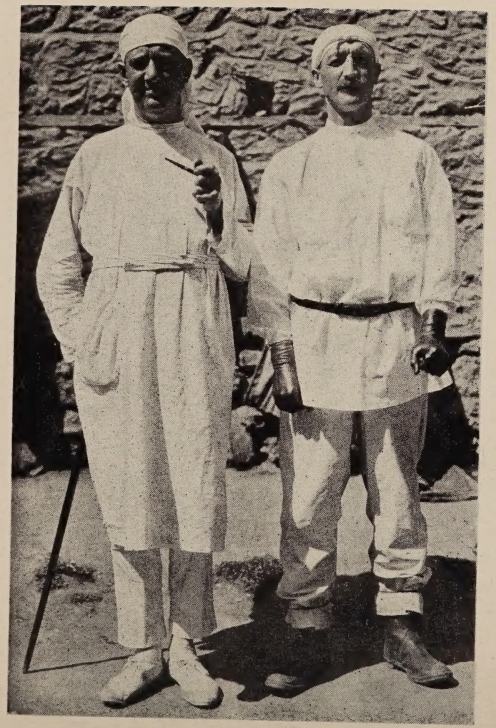
"A child of nine is reading the same book that a boy of fourteen is studying. The older children find their mental action stiffened, through long disuse. Statistics made several months ago show that out of 659 children 422 did not know their mother tongue when they entered the orphanage, but now all are speaking it fluently and reading simple stories and solving problems in arithmetic. Some of the brightest made marvelous progress in a single year. The children are taking a keen interest both in the school work and in the industrial classes. Each child seems eager to support himself by the work of his own hands. They are making remarkable progress in shoemaking, carpentry work, weaving and sewing. Co-operation between pupils and teachers is delightful and is in a large degree responsible for the remarkable results which are being obtained in these bare, crowded classrooms."

Every director found difficulty in discovering the child's correct name. Many were too young to remember, others had wandered far and adopted fictitious nicknames to conceal their identity or to curry favor with the inhabitants of the new lands, others had made new friendships and adopted their companion's name. This question of true names was forever a source of annoyance and amusement. A director reported:

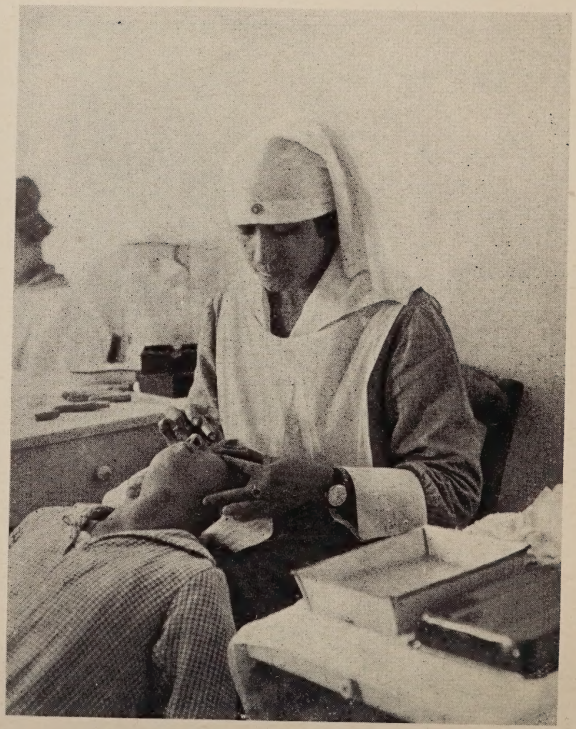
"I went down the lower hall of the orphanage one day and found a group of my teachers around a little girl. She was such a pitiful mite, covered with dirt and grime, her little head all broken out with sores, her tiny body covered with scabies. Her thin, emaciated arms and shoulders were hung with a few filthy rags. She had just been picked up in the street. At this time the orphanage was overcrowded and our supplies were limited and we had been refusing



Above: Selimieh Barracks, Constantinople, made famous by Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War, housed 11,000 destitute refugees in 1923, from whom typhus and other epidemics took a ghastly daily toll. *Below:* Section of a disease prevention camp for 30,000 children in the Caucasus.



American doctor and director of refugee relief in typical typhus epidemic costumes worn during their work in Selimieh Barracks.



Nurse giving blue pencil treatment for trachoma in an orphanage clinic.

to take any more children. After she had been cleaned up and fed I called her and one of the teachers to me and tried to find out who she was. When we asked her what her name was she said 'Salema.' We asked her her mother's name. She did not know, but recognized the name 'mother.' Although we named over all the native names of women it brought no response from her. Then we asked who her father was. She just looked at us in a dull, irresponsive way until finally, after a long time, a gleam came into her eyes and she said: 'My father—why, my Heavenly Father.' And this was all we ever learned about that child. It was evident that she had come from a Christian home but where that home was or who her parents were we never found out."

Even children do not smile easily after years of tragic experiences. A director from Syria recorded a typical experience of all relief workers:

"Najeebe was good, patient and wistfully content to sit with her little hands folded and her eyes cast down, apart and aloof, taking no interest in the other children. Her eyes, old for her years, never smiled. When she looked at you she seemed to look through you and beyond, finding nothing of interest. We have exercised our best energies to make her happy and to get something more than a polite reply.

"No one knew anything about Najeebe. She had been brought to the orphanage with other children who had been picked up on the streets in Syria in 1918. As to her past life her only answer was 'a soldier found me.' She could not tell who the soldier was but simply repeated the statement. She had no memory of father, mother, sisters or brothers. The other children were fond of her. They tried to interest her but finally gave it up and left her to sit quietly in her corner with folded hands. And then the miracle happened!

"One day in the yard, as teachers were watching the children playing their games, they heard a low chuckle and then

a shriek of delight from behind. They turned and saw Najeebe on her hands and knees playing with a little fluffy white kitten. Najeebe had laughed aloud! The spell was broken and she took her place in the happy life of the other children."

The educational difficulties were not restricted to the absence of earlier instruction among the orphans. The inadequacy of the school equipment and facilities was noticeable to even the casual visitors. One of these reports:

"Can you imagine a school without pens, ink or paper, without heat, desks or benches? Such a school would not be tolerated in any civilized country, yet this school was the pride of a village in Turkey and above the school floated the Stars and Stripes. It was an orphan school of the Near East Relief. The school was heated only by the fiery enthusiasm of the pupils and the burning zeal of the teachers, who were two Americans, assisted by a group of workers. In lieu of a blackboard or paper and pencil the children worked with blackened cardboard on which their white chalk showed effectively. For books they shared a few battered relics, years old, thumbed and crumpled by much use and misuse. Patiently they sat on the floor in their stocking feet. The progress made by these children was remarkable. In a single week they frequently accomplished three times the work which we would expect from American children. They were eager, bright-eyed boys and girls, with just enough to eat to keep them healthy."

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

THE orphanages in the various countries were known to the local peoples as American schools. They recognized their primary training function. After the armistice, when authority was given to the overseas workers to accept children with an implied continuing responsibility, education was made an integral part of the orphanage program. The chapters that immediately follow unfold the methods and practices that were used in developing the various phases of general, vocational and character-building training.

Before the war the minority peoples within the Ottoman Empire had been permitted to maintain their own racial schools. They had been supported by a special, self-levied tax which usually had been sufficient to provide general schooling for all the minority children. These people had been eager for educational advantages and seized every opportunity which offered advanced training. The American mission schools and colleges had been attended largely by ambitious minority youths. It has been noted that the orphanage teachers of the post-war period were largely former students of these American schools which had been located in all the large centers in the interior of Turkey. Their training and knowledge of English was invaluable in teaching and administration.

The war and the attendant deportations destroyed the local minority schools and closed the American schools. There was a complete educational vacuum for five years. Food for life, clothing for warmth, and shelter were all

that mattered—the rest was only a dream. Even where orphans were gathered by American relief workers into buildings or camps, education, except in its most meager meaning, was not considered possible. There were no local teachers available, for they had been sent on long marches into unknown places. There was no working material even if there had been teachers. Children everywhere were deprived of the semblance of education for many years, the younger ones never even starting.

The action of the Committee in authorizing the establishment of orphanages after the war was accompanied by a decision to provide adequate training for these orphans and if funds permitted to equip them for economic self-support. This necessitated placing the emphasis on vocational and practical training. Education in the Near East previously had been interpreted in terms of book knowledge, which often cultivated a feeling of superiority and implied the inferiority of labor with the hands. Economic conditions after the war—the all-important question of earning a living—dictated a policy of vocational training. The Committee realized the need of elementary classes in general subjects but it also understood the value of manual training in the skills.

The importance of the educational program, in its content and its methods of application, led the Committee to advise with educational experts in this country. Dr. Paul Monroe, Dr. R. R. Reeder and Dr. O. S. Morgan, each an authority in special fields, not only were constant advisers to the Committee in America but they visited the various areas and orphanages, personally appraised the educational factors and mapped out programs of action for the overseas workers. They helped choose teachers and supervisors who directed this phase of the Committee's activities.

Members of the Commission in 1919 gave much time and thought to the educational program which was just then

emerging.[1] Later Dr. John H. Finley, a member of the Executive Committee and former commissioner of education for the State of New York, visited the areas and from the wealth of his experience helped to direct the developing program. He reported to the Committee:

What may be less well known but that which makes Near East Relief unique in the history of philanthropic effort, is the fact of its development into an educational force of extraordinary importance in one of the chief strategic centers of the modern world. This is the more remarkable because workers, not enlisted as professional teachers, were none the less the product of American educational ideals and methods, and found themselves unconsciously applying these principles day by day. This result was a natural outgrowth of their showing salvaged people, especially scores of thousands of children, how to keep on living to any advantage at all in the countries where the level of life is far behind that in occidental lands.

Near East Relief has indeed become a school, not merely for the new generation of orphan children still in its institutions, but a demonstration school welcomed by the governments in Armenia, Greece, Turkey, Syria and Palestine as a valuable contribution to the advancement of their educational programs.

Personal observations on journeys to the Near East have deepened my conviction that the practical service type of education inaugurated by Near East Relief will have incalculable influence in bringing better days to this danger zone of the world.

The Commission appraising the relief situation in its

[1] "The instruction is indigenous so far as possible. It is the deliberate effort to work into the native school systems, supplementing them, rather than substituting for them. But in this supplemental work the outstanding thing is the effort to emphasize the *practical* side of education, training for agriculture and for industry, rather than for professional work; emphasizing the dignity of labor for all, rather than the necessity for labor by the 'lower classes' who become mere servants to the upper class. The aim of the orphanage school is to equip the children to live amid their own people, support themselves, and to be capable of leading in a moderate and evolutionary progress to something better. In the educational program health necessarily comes first, then occupational training and character-building morale."—An Observer.

report recommended the selection and appointment of a director of education from America to supervise and develop an adequate program. It also recommended the appointment of trained teachers to supplement the staff already on the field. Ernest W. Riggs was appointed as the first director of education. He had been born in Turkey, spoke the language fluently and prior to the war he had served as president of Euphrates College at Kharput.

The development of the educational program was necessarily dependent upon the progress made in the establishment and effective organization of the orphanages. The first years of each institution were largely devoted to the most elemental classroom work. Lessons were confined to instruction in the mother tongue and simple arithmetic. The practical work was limited to the making of orphanage necessities—shoes, clothes and equipment. During these early formative years of the orphanage program, 1919 to 1922, the unfolding educational plans were following definite educational principles and anticipating the extension of vocational training.

George M. Wilcox, a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University, followed Mr. Riggs as director of education. He undertook to adjust the curriculum to the conditions and needs of each country. A careful survey of the economic possibilities for graduate orphans laid the foundation for the development of the training in skills and trades.

Harold B. Allen, a professor in Rutgers University, followed Mr. Wilcox. He had specialized in rural education in the adaptation of training to the needs of the village. A large percentage of the people in the Near East live under peasant conditions. The improvement of agriculture and rural conditions was found to be one of the great needs of the various countries. The program of the Committee was

directed toward meeting this situation and the preparation of boys to live in rural communities.

The whole educational effort was the composite experience of scores of trained American workers, each under general supervision, endeavoring to help the children in their preparation for life. Hundreds of local personnel, most of them refugees, shared in this gigantic enterprise of equipping intellectually, physically, and morally 132,000 eager children.[1]

General education as interpreted in terms of the classroom was supplemented by certain educational principles and practices largely outside the recitation periods. Discipline, obedience and order were essential to later living as well as to effective orphanage organization. The common method of discipline in the East was the infliction of physical pain, usually applied in passion and ordinarily too severe for the triviality of the error. Within the orphanages corporal discipline was seldom necessary. A steady, regular control was exercised over the children partly by the older children who served as group leaders. The teachers seldom found it necessary to apply any measure of punishment. Occasionally, when action was necessary, the orphans themselves through their own council reprimanded the infringer of the rules. A new spirit of co-operation and self-control, taught by the staff, pervaded the life of the institutions.[2]

[1] "I visited every Near East Relief school center, and I was deeply impressed by the general efficiency of the school systems, by the interest of the children, their deportment, their alertness and their grasp of the subjects presented. The eagerness of the Armenian children, especially, and the Greek children, for schooling, is both commendable and pathetic in view of the difficulties. They are indeed bright survivals of the fittest —think of all that they have had to come through."—Dr. John H. Finley.

[2] "Inside the institutions maintained by Near East Relief, the work in every case was carried on in a well organized and generally efficient manner. Buildings and grounds were clean, children busy with work or play and frequently showing no consciousness of the presence of visitors.

The household activities were a practical and educational part of each orphan's training. This necessary daily manual labor impressed the East, where children had been taught to disparage it as menial. They learned how to care for their beds, prepare their meals, make their clothes and keep them clean. These were substitute home duties. The daily routine was organized so that each child should bear his share and yet so that these tasks should interfere as little as possible in the educational and vocational program.

An American traveler visited the orphanage in Syra when it housed 2,200 children, about equally divided between Armenians and Greeks, who had come from widely scattered areas across Asia Minor. He wrote: "I was taken into the dining hall fifteen minutes before the dinner hour. There were 150 bare, rectangular, clean, board tables in the great room, with a bench on each side, and all placed in perfect order with broad aisles running the length of the room. A long table at the front of the hall was loaded with loaves of bread baked that morning by the children in the baking department. The loaves were about the size of sofa cushions.

"At the tinkling of an unseen bell a half-dozen boys took their places at the bread table and began cutting the bread into large chunks and some fifty boys and girls swarmed into the hall, each with a load of dishes and a distinct objective. It was summer; all were barefoot and moved noiselessly and swiftly. There was one mature Greek caretaker in the room who kept her eye upon all that was done but said nothing and, as far as I saw, made no gestures. The American director who stood with me seemed, like myself, to be only an observer. The children, as they came and went, paid

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Teachers, both academic and industrial, appeared well trained and devoted to their work. Rarely have I seen pupils more eager to learn. Although their diet is very simple they looked well nourished, were quickly responsive and nearly always cheerful. The staff, both American and native, impressed me as deeply in earnest and thoroughly interested in the work they were doing."—Dr. R. R. Reeder.

no attention to me as a visitor. Each one had his or her specific and clearly defined part to do and did it with precision and dispatch.

"Within ten minutes the tables were completely set with the food and the children who had done the job disappeared as noiselessly and as suddenly as they had appeared. I stepped into the center of the hall and inspected the tables. Everything was in military order. The row of soup buckets set upon the end of each table made a straight line down the hall.

"Another bell rang and 1,100 boys and girls trotted in without jostling or horse play, each took his place at the table and in not more than sixty seconds from the ringing of the bell there was absolute silence as one of the boys asked a blessing upon the food. Then the silence was banished by the passing of food, the ladling out of the wholesome bean soup with a little meat in it, and the conversation of the children. There appeared no abnormal restraint. All seemed free but there was no disorder. Second helpings were in order.

"When all were through, and it was not a long repast, the crowd went out but not with quite the same speed as they entered. At once a squad of cleaners took possession of the room. Dishes and fragments were removed; sweepers brushed off the tables; swept the entire hall and disappeared. At the same time another setting-up group took possession, and twenty minutes from the time the first tables had been vacated they were again occupied by the second 1,100 children. When this group had finished the hall was put in order as before.

"The things that most impressed me were the speed, precision, manifest discipline, snap and good spirit with which the whole program was carried out, more as a game than as a piece of work. The woman in charge spoke only once, as far as I observed, and that was when she designated the boy

to say grace. I said to myself 'boys and girls that can be trained to do that routine work in that spirit and with such speed and accuracy can be taught to do anything; already they are receiving an education that will be a permanent asset as they go out into the world on their own.' "

Health was one of the dominating principles in education. The struggle against disease and malnutrition in the earlier days and the constant efforts to restore the children to normal physical strength required the services of trained nurses and doctors. The building of bodily resistance against disease, and the hardening process necessary to equip a child for the sterner life outside the orphanage, was gradually developed by regular daily exercise, by manual labor and by play.[1]

Each morning the orphans assembled for formal exercise. The action, speed, discipline and obedience were inspired and directed by older children. A group under their own leadership could, if allowed, exercise indefinitely without apparent fatigue, while the same group under an adult instructor tired easily.

One hour each day was designated as play time. The orphanage grounds were usually large enough to permit several games of varying kinds to be played at the same time. Western games were introduced and readily learned. Basketball games between the different dormitory groups or between the orphans and the personnel were frequently up to the standard of American schools. Physical capacity, endurance, team play and co-operative action were developed through football, volley ball and baseball. Competitive

[1] "It is obvious that a health program must take precedence over the educational one. The general health of the children under the care of Near East Relief is excellent. In almost any community, where the children are to be seen occasionally on the streets or on the roads, or in connection with industrial work, errands, or recreation, the Near East Relief children can readily be distinguished from the children of the community by their healthy, well-nourished, clean and happy appearance." —Dr. Paul Monroe.

track meets, with Olympic inspiration close at hand, were frequently a part of the athletic schedule of each school. The girls had their own competition, their own physical directors and trained leaders who developed their love of games and exercise quite as much as the boys.

Manual labor was a hardening process as well as a necessary duty. Every effort was made to prepare the children for the realities outside the orphanage. The hours of work were gradually increased until a year before a child graduated he was working a full day in the vocational shops and possibly attending night school.

Adequate clothing was provided for warmth but shoes were worn only in winter; the beds were simple and often hard, the food ample but plain.

Every effort was made to prevent the children from pitying themselves or considering that they were special objects of favors from America. They knew they had been rescued and were being cared for by unknown friends across the sea and they were reasonably certain of their daily food. It would have been natural for them to expect much and to feel themselves set apart from the children on the outside. This potential danger was recognized at the very beginning and educational forces were set up to counterbalance it.

The language problem was always perplexing. Often children of different races were grouped together in the same orphanage. Most of them were exiles in a strange country. A large percentage of the orphans had to learn one new language aside from their mother tongue. Armenian children in Greece studied Greek, while Armenian children in Syria and Egypt were taught Arabic.

A little science was added to the general curriculum to stimulate a love for facts and to help the children to interpret the common factors of life inside and outside the institution.

The whole question of teaching, even the simplest sub-

jects, was complicated by the general absence of textbooks. For the vocational subjects this was more noticeable. The Committee was obliged frequently to prepare its own instructive material,[1] in order that "education should teach people to live successfully the kind of life which they will have to live in the place where they will have to live it."

Most of the girls were expecting to be home makers. The traditions of the countries, the hopes of their lost parents and the wishes of the girls themselves all pointed to one ultimate goal. A few might become teachers or nurses but they were a small minority. Since the girls were to live in and for a home in the country they were in, it was fitting that the organization should formulate their educational curriculum accordingly, and adjust their daily activities in the orphanage, so as to give them the largest amount of practical experience in those various tasks we sometimes call home economics but which we know across the seas as home duties.

Every girl took her turn in the kitchen, the dining room, the laundry, the dormitory, the serving room and in the garden. Her work was a necessary part of the orphanage operations; it was indispensable to economical administration but it was preparatory. The essential factors of order, cleanliness and elementary experience in cooking and serving were inculcated during the early years. During the last years in the orphanage specialized, individualized instruction was given in the care of the person, the care of babies,

[1] By 1926 the following manuals had been published by the Committee in the Caucasus:

Methods of Teaching Armenian
Practical Gardening Manual
Practical Nursing (textbook for Nurses' Training School)
Hygiene (printed by the Department of Education in Russia)
Soils and Plant Life (for Agricultural Training)
Farm Tractors, Farm Machinery and Field Operations (3 textbooks)
How to Teach Field Crops
Lessons in Practical Poultry
Bee Keeping —EDITORS.

Above: Tuberculosis preventorium in the orphanage at Corinth, Greece.
Below: Treatment of tubercular orphans by heliotherapy in Syria.

Above: Health inspection, a daily occurrence in every orphanage. *Below:* Health director in Greece distributes milk to children of the refugee camps as a disease prevention measure.

the arranging of a home, the buying and preparation of food, the making and fitting of dresses, weaving and, in agricultural regions, the care of gardens and dairy products. A section of the dormitory or a small model house was used for this finishing course in home making. Groups of girls were selected and the various duties were assigned in rotation until each girl had completed the special course. Many visitors have been surprisingly and delightfully entertained and dined by these groups of girls who with real pride and joy have prepared the food, arranged the table and served.

In 1924, Dr. Paul Monroe, after an extensive inspection of the work overseas, wrote:

"I have already expressed my appreciation of the character of the personnel. I am happy to add the same general appreciation of the work being accomplished. While my observations on the administration were only incidental I judged it to be both efficient and economical. Considering the fact that so recently the work was primarily that of relief and life-saving and the additional fact that the children had to be moved so frequently, owing to conditions quite beyond the control of the organization, real constructive progress has been made in the educational development and care of the children. Considering that at one time practically all these children were infected with one or several diseases, health conditions are reasonably good. Considering the large number of these children and the fact that they must be cared for in large groups, in the Caucasus in exceedingly large groups, there is comparatively little of the institutionalization of the children that is apparent in long-established institutional work. The children are well fed, well clothed, well trained, well cared for; they appear to be happy; and undoubtedly are as well off as the major part of the children living under normal conditions. The real problem is that they should not fail to develop initiative, self-reliance, independence and industry."

Vocational training for economic self-support in the various countries is the story of the adaptation of American educational methods to new needs and new opportunities. It represents a pioneer movement, boldly facing new social, industrial and agricultural changes.

CHAPTER XVII

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

VOCATIONAL education was given to thousands of children. The principle of making all the children work with their hands in the practice of a trade or skill suitable to the Near East was applied in the orphanage schools. This part of the educational program was developed in method and content in conference with some of America's leading educators and was made operative under the supervision of educational directors especially selected and appointed because of their experience in vocational education.[1]

The training was adapted to the needs and opportunities of the countries where the children lived. A survey of the industrial and agricultural possibilities was made in each community and the courses of instruction adjusted to the local or nearby conditions. Trades, crafts and future occupations were chosen after careful consideration of the opportunities for future employment and service, and the particular capabilities of the individual child. There was a constant adjustment and rearrangement of the curriculum. As early as ten years of age the child was introduced to several kinds

[1] "The most important part of the educational program of the Near East Relief is the training in trades. This is as it should be. Even if the children were not under the necessity of making their own living at the earliest possible age, yet training would be important for them as an educational means. The training which every child, among their own people, receives under normal conditions of the family life is denied to them. Work affords quite as important a part of education as does schooling. From educational, as well as from economic and social reasons, every child with the Near East Relief should be given a definite training in some specific trade."—DR. PAUL MONROE.

of vocational work and gradually, by teacher guidance, directed to one of the trades. Some fifty different vocational courses were provided. Some of these required post-orphanage instruction, especially teaching and nursing. The girls shared largely in those two professions and graduate orphans have rendered conspicuous service as teachers and nurses in many countries. Other skills taught the girls were rug making, embroidery, dressmaking, lace making, poultry raising, farming, candy making, stocking making, textile weaving, toy making, animal husbandry, baby care (nursemaid), brush making, and basket weaving. In the East women do much more work on the land and in the care of cattle than with us; therefore gardening and animal husbandry were open to girls, to which they devoted themselves with credit.

For the boys there was a much wider range of trades and crafts, as follows:

Teacher, carpenter, weaver, shoemaker and repairer, tailor, musician, painter, printer, farmer, poultry man, dairyman, animal husbandry, coppersmith, tinsmith, baker, barber, mechanic, shopkeeper, chef, candy maker, textile worker, ironworker, cabinetmaker, blacksmith, shipbuilder, commercial worker, toy maker, potter, machinist, electrician, auto mechanic, designer, silversmith, photographer, mason, pharmacist, bookbinder and plumber.

More than half these trades were taught in Syra, whereas orphanages like Oropos and Corinth had only a few of the more general ones. In the Caucasus a greater emphasis was placed on agriculture because of the unusual opportunities. The government there made large grants of land, and agriculture and animal husbandry were extensively and intensively practiced. Special trade schools were developed to meet the lesser industrial needs. In Syria much of the industrial work was centered at Antilyas. As boys grew to the

age of twelve they were transferred for more intensive training in the definite trades. Hand work and the more general crafts were taught in each of the other orphanages.

In Egypt and Constantinople an adaptation of the apprentice method was practiced: boys went into shops, stores, and places of business and served a period without compensation until they learned, by actually doing, to make their services an economic asset to their employer.

The training and experience of the daily tasks of the orphanage supplemented the vocational classes. This work was done under supervision. Practical knowledge of effective organization was applied to accomplishing fixed results. All the children had their turn in this department in a practical industry which dealt with principles and methods of application of united action which would be applicable under circumstances widely differing from orphanage organization. This constituted practical lessons in organization and in direction of groups to achieve a desired end. It should not be classed as second in importance to any other department of teaching.

A brief reference only can be made to the various types of vocational education, without any attempt to include each trade, each orphanage or each area of activity. The group of orphanages in Russian Armenia was the largest and most compact, with the largest number of buildings and the most extensive acreage of agriculture. The development of the vocational program at this center is so typical of the whole program that it is used here as an illustration of the larger whole.

In Polygon, where there were 5,000 boys, two new buildings were made available for industrial work. A thousand boys of twelve years of age were organized into different vocational trade classes—tailoring, carpentry, ironworking, tinsmithing, shoemaking, bookbinding and pottery making. The aim at first was not to give boys a trade education but,

in the course of a year, to cultivate the facilities of hand and eye by giving a trial of work in several trades to find out for what occupation the boy was best fitted. There was also a construction shop in which the heavier ironwork, blacksmithing and auto and machine repairs were done, where boys actually worked and learned.

In Seversky there were 3,000 girls organized into an industrial school. The work was co-ordinated very closely with the housekeeping of the orphanage in order that the girls might get a diversified training covering all kinds of woman's work. The department of housework was divided into classes and the girls were rotated. For example, a girl worked as waitress in the dining room and then was responsible for a room in the dormitory for three months. Later, she would be released from routine orphanage duties and join a knitting class in the vocational school where for some months she would learn the various stitches necessary in making stockings, sweaters and caps. Then she would return to the orphanage department for another type of housework, possibly in the kitchen or laundry. After this she would rejoin the vocational school where for six months she would take a course in sewing. After this prevocational course, which was compulsory for all girls, pupils would be distributed, some to needlework, some to cutting and fitting classes and others to dyeing and rug weaving, according to their aptitudes.

A feature of the vocational work at Seversky, which was extremely interesting and valuable, was the model village and the gardens. The boys from the Polygon trade school built model village houses of stone, some working at the mason's trade and others producing the doors, window frames and sashes and the necessary hardware. The plan was for groups of fifty fifteen-year-old girls to live in these model village homes for a period of three months. Here they went through all the essential processes of living an

ordinary village life. There were four classes of twelve girls each in which the cooking of native dishes was taught. The girls did their own purchasing from the market and kept their own accounts. The model village possessed its own sheep and lambs, cows and poultry. All the work in the village, in the gardens and in the homes was done by the girls themselves. In this way, during a three months' period, a girl learned to milk and care for a cow (a woman's work in all the Near East), to make butter and cheese, to care for poultry and acquired some of the rudiments of gardening. It was not the purpose of the model village course to prepare agriculturalists, as this was done in a special school, but to give every grown girl, before leaving the orphanage, the essence of the different processes of village life so that she would be better fitted for her environment if destined, in the future, to live in a village. The work was rudimentary and not complete but extremely important.

Specialized vocational courses for girls, such as nurses' training and teaching, were early organized. One of the important contributions the organization made to the health of the country was the development of the nurses' helpers, in the clinics and hospitals, into qualified nurses through the establishment of a nurses' training school. The normal school was the outgrowth of the necessity of training teachers, from among the older girls, to teach the younger children. The courses were gradually lengthened, the requirements stiffened and the normal classes opened only to the most promising. The graduates were sought to teach in the village and town schools, as well as in the orphanage. Girls and boys both recognized the value of this training and comparatively large classes were graduated regularly.

The special training in agriculture was first centralized in Stepanavan and later transferred to Polygon. Every orphan

was taught to work in the vegetable gardens and where the land was plentiful most of the children had individual gardens of their own. They were made to feel that the development of food producers was just as essential as the production of mechanics. The fuller courses in agriculture began when the boys were about twelve years old and were continuous until they left the orphanage at the age of sixteen. Old methods of agriculture were gradually superseded by new: tractors, seed drills, and mowing machines were introduced; blooded stock was imported to replace the weak, exhausted stock of the country; dairying and cheese making were modernized; new seeds, new methods of planting and fertilizing were used. Native farmers were invited to visit and inspect the orphanage farm. They were given seed, and surplus young stock was sold to them. American agricultural teachers improved the method of instruction and the quality of the production.

The following "notes" were taken from an early report, in 1923, on agricultural education. They are of interest for they reveal the plans and purposes then receiving the attention of directors overseas:

Farm area No. 2 has 2,400 acres of fine wheat soil. With orphan boys alone this project has produced 17,000 bushels of wheat, barley and linseed and maintains a dairy herd and hog center. Orphans have been trained in the use of simple American farm machinery. Better varieties of seeds have been introduced. Incidently, this has resulted in governmental purchase by Armenia of 100 farm tractors. Primarily it has improved grain growing methods in the entire region and introduced the use of an American grain sowing system.

The cattle raising center on the former Czarina ranch at Karakala, Armenia, known as farm area No. 1, consists of 18,000 acres of pasture land and 200 acres of vegetable land. It has produced 5,000 bushels of potatoes and 3,000 bushels of other vegetables and is stocked with 2,000 head of livestock for breeding purposes. Older orphans are being trained in livestock industry.

In 1928 the director of education for the Caucasus reported:

> The Polygon farm has been and should continue to be one of the most important units of the educational department. The value of organizing the farm as a part of the educational department has been thoroughly demonstrated. Month by month the whole farm has been put more and more on an educational basis. Last year the farm projects were excellent but did not contribute sufficiently to the general production requirements. This year the farm production projects provide the necessary educational requirements while contributing much more to the work needs of the farm. From the first we have followed the policy of giving as many children as possible some contact with the soil. Twelve hundred children are working in the fields. The experimental plots which were started last year have been laid out again this year and should be continued as long as the work carries on.

Dr. O. S. Morgan, Professor of Agriculture at Columbia University, gave parts of two years of time and experience in personal supervision of the agricultural work in the orphanage schools of the Near East. The program he and his associates outlined and put into practice may be summarized as follows:

The agricultural school was co-ordinate with the industrial school. These schools supplanted the former academic work in the fifth, sixth and seventh grades. All the upper grade schools in the educational system were vocational schools. The program for the agricultural school, as for the boys' and girls' industrial schools, required a half day of classroom work and a half day of practical work. The classroom work for the agricultural school was nearly three-fourths academic and one-fourth technical. That is, about three-fourths of the schoolroom time was given over to the study of such subjects as language, history, civics, literature, sciences and mathematics, with examples and illustrations drawn from village and farm life; and one-fourth of the schoolroom time was devoted to textbook and labora-

tory study of agricultural subjects. The other half of each school day was devoted to production practice work, with crops, livestock, machinery and equipment.

In the first year of the agricultural school, that is, the fifth year of school for the individual boy or girl, the agricultural instruction was given as a general science with illustrations drawn chiefly from field crops and soil management for thirty weeks, and from vegetable gardening and bee keeping each for five weeks.

In the second year of the agricultural school, the argricultural subjects were twenty-week courses devoted to field crops and soils, and twenty-week courses to poultry keeping, hog and sheep raising. Attention was paid also to machinery and farm management. For summer practice, special, large-scale plots or group practice plots in garden and field crops constituted the practice program. Units were devoted to growing potatoes, cabbages, beets, tomatoes and other common crops. For each crop on each unit area, a group of second-year school pupils was made responsible. They were under supervision, required to keep a crop diary and to participate in autumn agricultural exhibitions.

In the third and final year of the agricultural school work the principal subject was livestock—cattle, sheep, hog and horse rearing and management. The senior pupils, under the supervision of the American director, received full practical experience in dairy and animal husbandry.

The summer practice work for the final year consisted largely of perfecting pupils in herd and barn equipment and field management details. This was accomplished by using a job analysis sheet for each essential factor of the farm and animal section of agriculture, analyzing the job (*e.g.*, calf raising or tractor plowing), into its sequential skills and requiring that each pupil render a satisfactory performance, not only on each job, but in each essential feature of each job.

The carefully balanced schoolroom and practice activities; the acres of irrigated or dry-farmed garden, field, crop, meadow and pasture land; the varieties of crops and cultural methods; the use of machinery; the selection of livestock; the experienced teacher-supervisory staff; the intimate relation of field and barn production to school and menu for all the children; and finally, the great local interest in agriculture, all conduced to put the none too highly rated occupation of agriculture in its proper perspective in relation to the needs and opportunities of a rural country.

The activities of the individual child were directed toward the creation of an enthusiastic and abiding interest in agriculture. Separate gardens were assigned to the orphans. They were given a certain freedom in their choice of seed and the method of cultivation but their results were brought into comparison each fall by garden exhibits. A complete record of the processes and labor was required with the display of the fruits of their harvest. Prizes in the form of ribbons were distributed, to the delight of some and the disappointment of others, which served as a great stimulus to the following year's garden results. The boys who had spent much of their time in animal husbandry were rewarded each year for meritorious care of the animals.

Readers especially interested in vocational training as applied to trades and skills, adapted from America to varying conditions overseas and under American supervision, will be interested in a brief summary of the program of the organization and the accomplishments of the trade school at Syra, Greece, as recorded, in 1925, by Director of Education George Wilcox, in defining the purpose of the school:

(1) To provide a four-year trade course for boys from 13 to 16 years of age, that will carry them as far through the apprentice stage as their immature age makes possible.

(2) To carry on the shop work on as nearly a commercial

basis as is consistent with thorough training in all the requisite skills of the trade.

(3) To train the boys not only for vocational efficiency but also for healthful living and to be good citizens with a proper regard for the social and religious aspects of their lives.

(4) To keep the content of the courses on the basis of the needs, methods and opportunities in Greece; to teach actual operations and the underlying theory.

(5) To use methods that combine the values of the project method in stimulating whole-hearted, purposeful activity, with the values of the more formal exercises of manual training classes in insuring adequate drill in the essential skills.

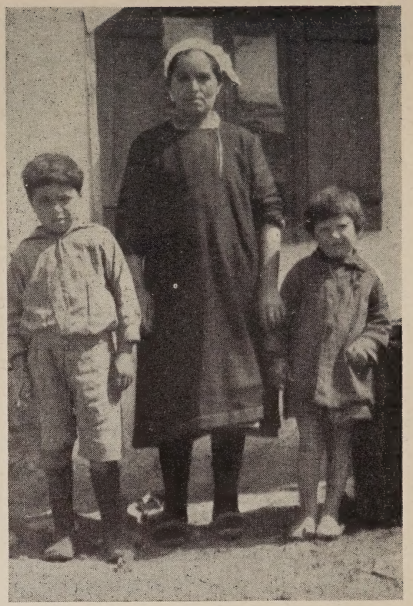
(6) To practice methods of selection and guidance that will place each boy in training for an occupation for which he is naturally fitted and for which there is a need in the community where he will live.

The selection of trades to be taught followed a census of the industries operating on Syra and a survey of the trade unions of Athens and Piræus. The census of the local industries showed: bakeries, blacksmiths, candle factories, carriage works, chair makers, confectionery makers, carpenter shops, dockyards, dye works, electric light plants, emery works, engineering workshops. flour mills, knitting mills, locoum factories, macaroni works, nougat factories, potteries, rug factories, ship building yards, silk mills, soap factories, starch factories, shoemakers, tanneries, thread mills, wood turners, tapestry weavers, tinsmiths, and weaving and spinning mills.

The trades that have been developed in the industrial school are masonry, carpentering, plumbing, electrical installation, furniture making, mechanics, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, tailoring and shoemaking. Each section has a half day of shop work and a half day of related technical and general studies. The duties of the boys in relation to orphanage life limit the length of the school day. For the older boys a full work day of eight hours is planned, as they must not be softened by too easy conditions in orphanage life.

The selection of teachers is largely the determining factor in the success of the various trade courses. There are no trained industrial teachers in Greece: it is necessary to use tradesmen as teachers. In selecting artisans the qualities of character, skill in the particular trade, capacity to interest boys and willingness

Without subsidy this refugee mother would be obliged to relinquish her children to an orphanage and her own existence would be doubtful.



With subsidy to supplement her own labor this mother was able to maintain a tiny home and retain her children.

Above: Children of the camps, dirty, unschooled, often hungry and diseased. *Below:* Each orphanage showed his salvaged mass of potential citizens.

to instruct and to receive supervising guidance are significant. The development of the teaching staff from artisans and older boys is of primary importance.

This carefully considered and executed program of vocational training gave to the orphanage a nation-wide reputation as a trade school. It was always referred to as "The American School at Syra." Some of the surplus products were sold. Student-made furniture, patterned from American designs, was in great demand. At the fair held in Salonika, in 1926, to which all the Balkan countries sent exhibits, the display of cabinetwork and furniture by the Near East Relief from the Syra school was awarded first prize.

Antilyas had the same relation as a specialized trade school to the work in Syria that the school at Syra had to the work in Greece. The orders from the local and foreign communities were often ahead of the limited capacity of the orphanage workshops. An all-Syria exhibition was held annually in Damascus. Each year the organization prepared a booth displaying rugs, furniture, embroideries, and other handiwork. These always received high prizes in recognition of the excellency of the workmanship of the students.

The value of vocational training to the handicapped child was also fully appraised. The school for the blind in Greece was directed by a blind graduate of the Perkins Institute, Watertown, Massachusetts, who especially emphasized the industrial training as essential to partial future self-support. Swiss methods, which closely resembled American programs, were introduced in the blind school in Syria by a Swiss member of the staff. The French mandate government gave very practical co-operation by ordering all street and cleaning equipment brushes from the special school. The expansion of industrial work for the blind and

its practical results attracted special attention to this phase of training introduced into the Near East.

Vocational training in general was new to the Near East. Formerly a son served his apprenticeship in his father's business and later became a partner and finally the owner. The orphan had no father's workshop. Industrial life as commonly known in the West was just intruding into the individual production methods of the East. A changing economical condition was impending. Vocational training was preparation for this transition. The selection of trades to be taught attempted to avoid an oversupply of workers in any single skill and to anticipate needs growing out of increased local industrial expansion and the wider introduction of mechanical conveniences.

The organization not only had to arrange the program but it had to send vocationally trained teachers from America. The striking educational and practical results which were obtained can be credited largely to the exceptional men at Syra, Polygon, and at Antilyas, supplemented by the orphanage directors and the local personnel, selected and trained to teach the various trades.

The last link in the training program was the placement and the close supervision given to the boys after the completion of the years of specialized instruction. The adjustment into actual industrial trade conditions from the orphanage training school was the ultimate test of the efficacy of the program and the capacities of the child.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHARACTER BUILDING

To save the lives of 132,000 children was an organizational and a physical problem. The Committee and the workers overseas quickly came to the conclusion that they owed these children and the Near East an obligation to prepare each child for a life of constructive usefulness; they must not only save life but must create life. They must give sound bodies, substantial characters and moral stamina to their dependent and otherwise unprotected wards, if they would fulfil all responsibilities.

The Near East was filled with conflicting and destructive social and moral forces, some of them due to the war, more of them due to age-long customs and traditions. A generation of youth was in the hands of the Committee, subject to its control and training. The staff believed that it would not be true to those who had given generously to supply food to the starving, if it did not go farther and provide intellectual and moral nourishment for the creation of permanent values in the children under its tuition. From 1919, when the vast orphanage movement began, until the last child should be graduated into independence, to develop and strengthen character became a chief objective. It was a fixed conviction that anything less than this would, in the end, prove a curse and not a blessing to the child and to the Near East.

It was necessary to take into consideration the conditions in which the children were found. Practically none of them had received any kind of mental training for five or six years. Schools throughout the Near East had been closed

by the war; but, what was much more baffling, most of the children who came under the care of the Committee in 1919, and previously, had lived a vagabond life in countries where physical and moral conditions were destructive of body, mind and soul. The struggle for existence had made little animals of the scattered and unattached children and developed in them the animal instinct of self-preservation without moral restraint. Food, cleanliness, medical care and kindly treatment accomplished much and were easily provided, but how were the mental and moral faculties to be discovered, awakened and fixed?

Character training is never instantaneous nor spectacular. It is a slow, persistent, daily, educational process. Character is good workmanship. So it was in the Near East. The orphanage was made the best substitute possible for the vanished home and the orphanage personnel endeavored to express the individual care, attention and affection of lost mothers and fathers.

The children were educated in the religion and in the church of their parents. The schools and classrooms were permeated with direct and indirect instruction tending to inculcate truthfulness, honesty, justice, loyalty and industry. No less important was the selection of teachers and other employees, whose personal influence guided and led the multitude of impressionable children. The playground was often the best classroom for the teaching of co-operation, fair play, the submergence of the individual for the good of the team.

This process of character building did not cease when the child left the orphanage to be placed in the foster home or, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, when asked to earn its own livelihood. The organization kept a guiding and helping hand on each child; visiting it while at work; counseling with it over its problems; inspiring it when the competitive wage was scarcely enough for simple bread; pointing out

the responsibility and opportunity of citizenship and standing as its guardian and guide until the process of character building had more fully crystallized into a new youth for the Near East.

The success of this training was due, first of all, to the devoted, affectionate co-operation of every caretaker and to the unalterable conviction, upon the part of all, that to save and to put into the life of the Near East a true moral character would be to make the most worth-while and permanent contribution to those countries. Underneath all has been the certainty that only thus can the investment made in physical life-saving become enduring, whether in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt or Greece. We can record here but a few of the processes employed in the orphanages to discover and develop character in the children.

First was the endeavor to discover the child to himself as a human being. One who inspected the earlier orphanages says: "It will be entirely incomprehensible to people living in civilized countries to imagine a group of hundreds of children upon whose faces a smile never appears and who have no incentive to play." This was the most unnatural, appealing characteristic of the newly discovered children. Their diseased and filthy bodies and scant clothing were heart-breaking enough, but to see them huddled together in groups, without the least sign of a smile or the least effort to entertain themselves, was vastly more pathetic. One of the first attempts on the part of the relief workers, after the child had been cleaned and clothed and had received medical attention, was to find some way to divert him away from himself and induce him to take an interest in his surroundings. The children did not weep or moan or beg for anything—they simply sat about for days with a look of despair upon their faces, with no interest in their companions, no curiosity—an entire absence of normal childhood.

The food, the medical treatment, the new clothing, the introduction of simple games, had their effect. It required weeks, with some, to secure a childish response, while others, perhaps because they had suffered less, more quickly discovered themselves. The changes wrought in two or three months were often little short of miraculous, as the children began to smile, to find their voices, to manifest interest in their surroundings, and to give signs of the awakening child. It was almost like a resurrection.

A second step in developing the child was the introduction of games.[1] In the first stage simple play had its place but the second stage required the organization of groups for playing games in which one group was pitted against another. This was more important in the East, where games among children are individualistic. Various plays were introduced and the children were taught as teams to work together. This required careful planning and training on the part of the teachers, in order to develop the team spirit of fair play, satisfaction in winning and accepting defeat like a true sport, which again is not an Eastern trait. The game life became highly successful.

Some of the basketball teams, among the larger boys and girls, might have been pitted successfully against American school basketball teams. Other ball games and net games were introduced and successfully taught and played. It was

[1] "The purpose of education is to develop initiative, self-reliance, insight, individuality, love of work, persistence, tolerance, ability to co-operate and numerous moral qualities such as honesty, sense of fair play, etc. The means for developing these are school instruction, work and play. In point of time play takes precedence over the other two and throughout the early years of childhood is probably of equal importance with them. It is the one method to which the child takes instinctively and will carry on largely without adult assistance. Yet with adult guidance and training play can become a most important means of education. Especially where children live in large groups as in the orphanages where self-reliance is developed with great difficulty and where initiative and individuality are at a discount should play be relied upon to a large extent to develop these qualities otherwise latent."—Dr. Paul Monroe.

an interesting development to note the rapidity with which the children accepted the principle of team work and with what grace they accepted defeat or victory. There was probably no single feature of the early training which had a more salutary influence in helping the children. A physical director of the Y. M. C. A., who frequently acted as referee in the Near East, says: "Wherever your boys play games they play them according to rules and give the referee no trouble. Whether they win or lose they show excellent sportsmanship."

In the organization of each orphanage the children themselves were given the largest amount of responsibility possible. The boys and girls did practically all the work: caring for the dormitory, serving in the dining room, helping in the kitchen, keeping order and cleanliness in the school, dormitory and on the playground, making their own clothes and shoes, cultivating the garden and farm, and taking care of chickens and cattle.

An institution of thousands of children could function readily only by dividing them into groups of from eight to twelve with an older boy or girl in charge. Each child had his leader and each leader had a superior officer responsible to the older personnel. Nothing was done by paid employees that the children themselves could do. No responsibility was assumed by a worker that could be delegated effectively to a child.

The ratio between employees, teachers, directors, caretakers, etc., was never more than one to fifteen or twenty children. As one American visitor noted: "I have never seen children anywhere take care of themselves more splendidly with so few older supervisors, nor have I seen in any institution a better balance between discipline and individual initiative."

The orphans themselves were made largely responsible for the internal discipline of the institution. The older lead-

ers, the scouts, guards, the council and tribunal, were invested with authority. Seldom was it necessary to bring individual cases to the higher jurisdiction of the directing personnel.

Some orphanages developed the children's disciplinary court, with its presiding orphan judges and associates. For example, we cite a case in Armenia: A boy was brought before the juvenile judges by two guards who reported the prisoner had been caught roughly treating one of the younger boys. His case was heard. He admitted hitting the younger boy but, as a defense for his action, he claimed the younger boys were constantly mocking him because he was older but not far along in his classes, implying that he was stupid. Unfortunately, it was not the first time the prisoner had been before the junior judges. His case was looked up in the records of the court. It was found he had made trouble for his teachers and was on suspended sentence. In this case the judges decided on the maximum penalty, it being his second offense. He was sentenced to twenty-four hours solitary confinement in a windowless room on the top floor of the orphanage. The judges instructed the guards to make the sentence immediately effective.

The discipline was usually more severe when administered by the children than when meted out by adult personnel. The interference of the directors was more frequently to mitigate punishment than to stiffen the penalty. Some of the verdicts were amusing, especially to the observer. The guilty were often held up to ridicule by their associates, as a sort of penance. A girl was brought before the tribunal in Corinth for leaving the orphanage grounds and visiting a neighboring vineyard. The crime, pleasant as it must have been, was punished by compelling the accused to wear, for a whole day, a bunch of uneatable grapes about her neck and a sign on her back which read, "I stole grapes."

Self-discipline in the orphanages was not merely a method

of maintaining order and efficiency, it was an important factor in the development of good and independent judgment, a sense of fair play and a consciousness of right and wrong.

Many of the children were very young. They had little recollection of either home or religious training. The older children, when they came into the orphanage, usually had been living under abnormal conditions. The agencies that commonly awaken and guide the developing conscience of a child, the parents, the home, the church and companionship in the community, were missing. The orphanage life had to be a complete substitute for each of these ordinary factors in the process of character building and the growing recognition of right and wrong.[1]

The careful selection of the personnel was the best assurance of parental substitution. The maintenance of religious Sunday services, religious instruction in the day school, in accordance with the best practices of the respective countries, with cautious respect for the parental religion of the children, made religion vital. The group meetings were an inspiration, even to visitors, who were greatly moved when the older children's choir would follow an eastern church chant with such familiar music as "Faith of Our Fathers" sung in distinctly pronounced English words. Wherever churches were available near the orphanage, the children went regularly to worship. The response of the boys and girls to the instruction and influence of religious instruction

[1] Frank W. Ober, after having spent some time in the Near East, wrote as follows in reference to the graduate boys and girls from the orphanages whom he met:

"It was my privilege, for 69 days, to meet almost daily boys and girls, men and women, who are living today because of the appeals which the Near East Relief had made or prompted in their behalf.

"While the Near East Relief may not have announced itself as in the position of developing religious character, it has done, to my mind, one of the greatest pieces of missionary service that has ever been accomplished. I met the children, met them intimately. They showed a spirit which any parents would have been thankful to see manifested among their own children in their own homes."

was frequently commented on by visiting observers as being more earnest than in America.

In the Russian Caucasus, where there could be no direct religious instruction, other methods were employed. For instance, the 5,000 girls in the Seversky orphanage were organized under a captain, of their own choosing, with assistants and group leaders, so that every twenty girls were under a leader. The motto of the orphanage was, "To Do for Others." They had the following system, each code representing a group and each group having a flag of its own color: Always Courteous Group, with a gray flag; Always Neat Group, with a white flag; Kind in Word and Deed Group, with a rose colored flag; Obedient Group, with a purple flag; Dependable and Truthful Group, with a blue flag; Happy and Joyous Group, with a yellow flag; Play the Game Group, with a green flag. These groups kept close watch of their membership and the group of twenty that was the most successful in living up to its high standard during the week was assigned the banner flag for the next week. Sleeve bands were worn by the members, removable by discipline. The group leaders were given a special course of training. The results were very satisfactory.

It was impossible for a child to remain in any orphanage and not become a part of the organization. The orphan's social relationships became greatly strengthened as the children began to be conscious that they were a part of a semi-permanent society — the orphanage itself. It was first expressed in the smaller groups, the dormitory units, the athletic groups or the disciplinary groups in which the individual was slowly merged into the whole company. There was persistent endeavor to keep each child conscious of the fact that he was a member of society, that there was no place in the orphanage and no place in life where he could stand alone, think only of himself, do only for himself and live for himself. It was a source of great satisfaction to the

orphanage directors to see how readily most of the children accepted this principle of life and how heartily they acted upon it.

There was danger that children constantly receiving attention and consideration would become self-centered and think of themselves as the only ones needing care and help, forgetting that there were still other children in the world who were more destitute, without even an orphanage for a home. The idea that orphans could share with those less fortunate was inculcated by the observance of Golden Rule day. It offered a most unusual opportunity for instructing the children in the spirit and practice of service for others. The children were told of the way children in America were observing Golden Rule day and how grown-up people were eating an orphanage meal in order to save money to buy bread for them. The idea caught their imagination and they began to devise ways by which they too could save in order to have something to give other hungry children outside the orphanages who were in need of something to eat. One of the schools went without meat for a week; another had only two meals instead of three; one wanted to save the condensed milk for a month; one was particular to insist that no bread be eaten the whole day and that the actual bread be taken and distributed to children still in the refugee camps. Another group of girls worked during all their play hours on some embroidery and asked to sell it in order to give the money to buy food for other children.

This spirit of helpfulness and service has been manifested in hundreds of ways among those who have graduated. Boys who have a position are always watching for an opening in their particular shop or place of employment for some other orphan boy. This process of the first lad making good and recommending another for the first vacancy is manifest in scores of places where as many as forty orphans are

working side by side. This endless chain of mutual aid has greatly facilitated the placing out program.

Another manifestation of this spirit of helpfulness is the eagerness with which a boy, as soon as he is making and earning even a mere pittance, starts to reunite the broken fragments of his family and voluntarily assumes the financial burden. Younger sisters and brothers are taken from the orphanage into whatever home he may have, although it may be only an improvised refugee barrack. Moreover, there is a noticeable spirit of comradeship. In one city four ex-orphans were able to start in business for themselves: one a barber, one a shoemaker, one a tailor and one a restaurant keeper, because all the other ex-orphans patronized them and brought other trade with them.[1]

The classroom has furnished a means of education in the creative mental discipline of the child. The vocational trade school has given material for the development of creative hand work. Teachers have been eager to discover in each child something more than proof of a retentive memory and formal acquiescence to routine class work. When evidence of an awakening creative idea has been found, special consideration and opportunity has been given the child.

In one of the classrooms in the Zappeon School in Athens there was hung, four years ago, a commendable exhibit of the artistic work of the children in that one school. The members of the executive committee of the Near East Relief were greeted, as they met in New York for their regular monthly meeting, with enlarged portraits of themselves

[1] Reed M. Davidson, director of the 2,500 outplaced children in Egypt, reported that the government at first declined to receive the unattached aliens from Syria and Greece but finally agreed to accept a small number as a sample and test of character and worth. The test was so successful that the door for admission was opened as wide as employment could be found. The record has been so eminently satisfactory that the Egyptian government, in appreciation of their sturdy qualities and tested integrity, has agreed to admit them to full Egyptian citizenship, which is a rare and appreciated privilege.

hung on the walls about the room, each drawn in charcoal from small prints in the magazine *New Near East*. Several of these drawings showed genuine merit.

In many of the orphanages monthly papers have been written, edited and duplicated by the children. While this was done usually on a second-hand mimeograph, yet many of the papers would have done credit to any American school with far better facilities for its work than were available to these children. These papers have appeared at different times from nearly all the orphanage groups.

Every American traveler who has visited the orphanages in the Near East within the last six or eight years has been welcomed by band or orchestra, playing diligently, and with no uncertain sound, on contributed American instruments, complimenting the American guest with "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "The Star-Spangled Banner." These music groups have not only afforded training and expression to individuals but they have brought happiness and enjoyment into the institutions.

Model villages have been developed by the children, in connection with some of the schools, with little, well-ventilated homes and village officers. Where land was available each child was encouraged to have his or her own garden, vegetable or flower, as they might choose. The friendly competition for the best, most productive garden was maintained. Occasionally exceptional boys would produce some interesting mechanical results. Several boys built playable violins, small engines, etc.

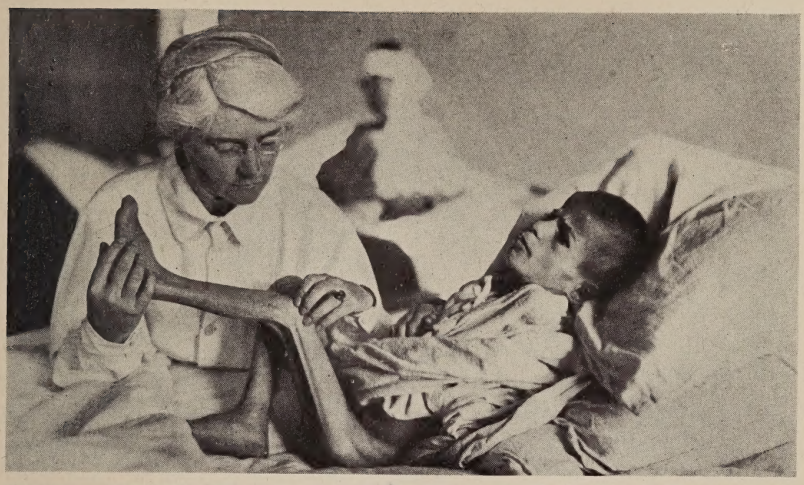
In the course of the years many boys and girls have stood out, head and shoulders, above the average of the group. These have been encouraged to go on in education courses beyond the orphanages. Scholarships have been given for this purpose so that today, in practically all the American and other schools throughout the Near East, there are many "ex-orphans," as they are called, who received their first

training and had the opportunity to reveal their capacities in the orphanages of the Near East Relief, but who are now pursuing their studies in preparation for a still greater service to their country and people. The testimony to the character of these advanced pupils in other schools is so general and so hearty that there is reason to believe that the effort of the organization to prepare boys and girls for useful and constructive service has not been in vain. The following case is only one out of hundreds that might be quoted.

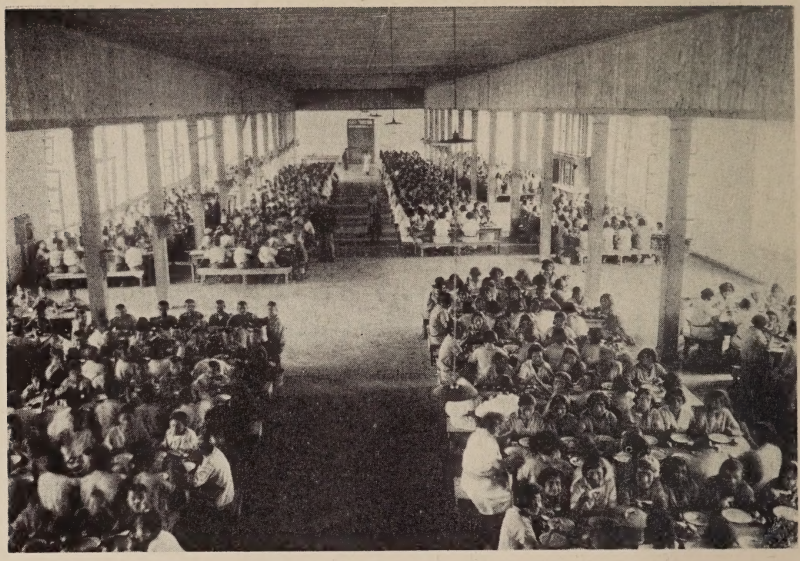
People in Australia have been greatly interested in relief work, especially in Syria, and have contributed, among other gifts, food supplies in the form of wheat and grain. One of their enthusiastic relief workers, Mrs. Glanville, came to Syria on one of the food ships in order to see the work and report back to the contributors. She came with a commission from a wealthy lady in Australia to find a bright, trustworthy Armenian orphan that she might adopt for the purpose of educating and fitting him completely for the most useful life possible in the Near East. One condition was attached to this Australian lady's plan. The orphan whom she wished to educate must take the name of her recently deceased husband.

Mrs. Glanville, after her contact with the boys in the orphanages in Syria, was attracted by a boy named "Vartan." She told him of the proposition of the Australian lady who wished to pay all his expenses for his education, even to a complete college course, followed by professional training, if he desired. She would furnish him with all the money necessary to secure for himself the most complete education, with only one condition—that he should take the name "Peter" in place of his name "Vartan."

Mrs. Glanville, in retelling the story, said that Vartan listened closely but made no reply whatever as he went away. She was disappointed. She thought he had failed to grasp the meaning of the magnificent offer. She concluded



A study in contrasts. There is a powerful story in the difference between the refugee child, a pitiful victim of hardship and malnutrition, who is being examined by an American doctor, and the three plump cherubs giving thanks for the food supplied them with American money.



Above: An orphanage dining-room feeding 3,000 children in two shifts of 1,500 each. *Below:* A boys' dormitory, each boy standing beside his neatly made bed. Household duties were part of each child's training.

that he had no ambition for an education and no sense of gratitude. She made up her mind that she would look for another boy.

The next day Vartan came to see Mrs. Glanville and then he told her his story, in substance, as follows:

"I was greatly overwhelmed by the offer of the kind Australian lady. I could find no words to express my feeling at the time. Now I want to tell you a little of my life.

"Five or six years ago, I lived with my mother and father and brother and sister in a happy rural village in the Kharput district in Turkey. I was only eight years old. We attended the village church and the clergyman was a warm friend of our happy family. I asked my mother how I got my name. She told me that when I was a mere baby I was taken to the church and they baptized me and gave me the name Vartan.

"One morning there was a great disturbance in our village. People were frantically running hither and yon. The cry went out that the Kurds were coming. They soon rushed into the village. Our house was entered. My father and my mother were both killed. My sister was seized, my brother and I fled, we were separated. I hid among some rocks in sight of the village. I saw all of the houses burning, the church was on fire, my home was destroyed. I wandered away and for months I hardly know what I did or where I went. Finally, I found myself in a group of other children who were like myself. Here I am now, after many years, in this orphanage school. I have lost everything, father, mother, sister, brother, home, church, village, everything that binds me to my former happy life, except my name, Vartan. That is all that connects me with the past—my church, my mother, my home. I cannot give up the name. It is the last tie that binds me to all of those blessed memories."

Mrs. Glanville said that she would write the good lady in

Australia and the reply came back in due time that Vartan might retain his name and still be her beneficiary.

This gives a glimpse of the way in which character has lived and is today being lived by vast numbers of these orphans. The test of character of these children will come only through years of good workmanship in the place where each child finds himself. It is too early to draw general conclusions as to the place these children, now rapidly becoming young men and women, will assume in society and the part they will play in making that society more worthy, but by tracing the trend of a few thousand individual cases, there is reason to believe that the gifts of time, strength and treasure to the countries and especially to the children of the Near East, have been well invested.

PART SIX
GRADUATING CHILDREN INTO LIFE

CHAPTER XIX

FROM ORPHANAGE TO INDEPENDENCE

THE intake of orphans, during the years of the war and the period after the armistice, was the inevitable result of existing conditions and relief efforts to save the remnants of childhood. The redistribution of 132,000 children has been the problem that has occupied the attention of the Committee during the last seven years. Every known child welfare method practiced by social workers in America was tried in the Near East as an aid toward the solution of the problem and several new ideas were put into practice to meet the unusual conditions which existed.

First, an effort was made to discover parents or near relatives. During the deportations families had become separated and existed apart in complete ignorance until reunited through the searchings of the Committee aided by items in local papers, and notices and personal search in the refugee camps. Most of the families which had been separated were also broken; perhaps only a mother survived who was usually in quite as pitiable plight as the child. If the child remained in the orphanage contact was maintained with the mother. If the mother were able to establish a small home a modest subsidy was granted to the child for a limited period.

Relatives were sought in America and other countries to which an earlier generation from the Near East had migrated, and where immigration laws permitted the children were sent to the relatives.

The outplacing of children without relatives proceeded as rapidly as opportunities could be discovered, investigated

and adoptions arranged. The child had to be protected against exploitation. The new home must be of the same nationality. The outplaced orphan had access to the Committee supervisor, and the members of the staff frequently visited the homes. Agreements were made between the organization and the adopting or protecting foster parent and rigidly enforced.

The distributing process was laboriously slow. Most of the children were outplaced from the orphanage into work between the ages of fifteen and sixteen, although the girls were kept usually until they could be placed safely in homes. The Committee adopted sixteen as the average age for boys, and the orphanage educational policies were adjusted accordingly. In the East children mature younger and are accustomed to accept responsibility earlier. It was felt that a longer period of orphanage life would be detrimental to the child. The children were encouraged to look forward to independence and to a life in a home. Their psychology was directed toward the values outside the institution. When the educational program was completed and they arrived at the age of sixteen they were eagerly prepared for the transition into independent life.

The reader should bear in mind that this chapter is being written before the work of establishing children in homes is finished. The work is still going on and will need to be continued two or three years before all the children have been located permanently in homes and business and fitted into their environment.

As far as possible, American child welfare methods were adapted to the Near East. A home properly selected and carefully supervised was considered superior to an orphanage, but the very conditions that made the relief work necessary had shattered thousands of homes and in most cases the only fragment that remained was an orphan. Where chance had allowed a mother to survive the tragedy it was

only after she had been separated from her children and trekked a long, strange journey, expatriated and a refugee in an unfamiliar country. True, some families escaped unbroken but theirs, too, was the fate of exiles, bereft of home and fatherland, huddled into refugee camps. During the early years there was only one answer to the orphan problem and that was orphanages.

After the war, enforced migration ceased. Peace came to the Near East in 1923 and general conditions slowly improved. The various countries tried to solve the congested refugee problem by refugee settlement projects. Emigrés mingled more freely with the citizens of the new countries. Life tended to readjust itself toward the normal. The home emerged, in new shelters and under new conditions of meager but possible economic independence. Mothers who had been separated for years, and by great distance, were one by one reunited with their children from the orphanages. Relatives of the second degree were equally eager to take nieces, nephews, cousins, into their impoverished homes. Sometimes orphans could be transferred to countries and locations where the effects of the war had been less disastrous, where groups of their own Nationals had settled and were moderately prosperous. In these communities it was possible to outplace children into more normal homes and here the new parents were able to accept full financial responsibility. In other areas boys were placed as student farmers or apprentices, always under supervision. There was no accepted method of placing out which was not tried in an effort to adapt the child welfare program to the correct solution of the orphanage problem. After a child had arrived at the age of theoretical self-support, sixteen, and work had been found for him and he was formally dismissed from the orphanage rolls, then he was transferred to the child welfare extension division, where he was given guidance, help and kept under careful supervision until such time as the or-

ganization's representative felt he had made a reasonable adjustment to the new condition of independence and potential citizenship.

The outplacement program was handicapped in the earliest efforts by the fact that a large percentage of children taken into the orphanages were afflicted with contagious diseases. The prevalent Eastern maladies of trachoma, malaria and favus resisted immediate cure and the process of recovery from long periods of malnutrition was slow. No child was outplaced or released to discovered relatives before health had been restored. Special isolation and treatments were given where it was definitely known that a child had a prospective foster home. Clinics were maintained to which outplaced children could come for free examination and treatment. In some areas the supervisor of outplaced children was assisted by nurses who, upon their visits, were especially careful to examine the child against the recurrence of disease. Caution was taken that children going into a new community did not carry with them a communicable illness or that the child did not relapse into sickness after it left the orphanage. In outplacing, as in institutional activities, the major problem was that of the health and the physical well-being of each child. This required the best medical and nursing skill available.

The placing-out program was not easily accelerated, although it was early adopted as a principle of child welfare work. The general conditions in the Near East did not quickly return to normal and the conditions of the uprooted, broken and shattered home were decidedly abnormal. Dr. Paul Monroe has been a friendly counselor to the organization. When the placing-out program was being formulated he reported:

"A problem taking precedence over the educational program is that of the placing-out of children. In a general sense this is a part of the educational program; the two

coalesce in their general purpose, which is to restore the child as speedily as possible to normal relationships in society. The normal relationship of a child is as a member of the family and the most important part of a child's education in the early years comes through the family life. Whenever possible to restore a child to membership in a family group that is leading a fairly normal life, it is best to do so. This is true even when the standard of life in the family group hygienically, physically and educationally is not as high as in the orphanage life. The difficulty in Armenia, and in fact in all the areas of the Near East Relief work, is that life in general has not been restored to normal conditions even for these regions."

Every child in an orphanage was considered a full orphan unless a relative near or distant could be discovered by some trained investigator from the placing-out department. The process was slow and individual. No adequate understanding of the problem is possible without a glimpse into the conditions in the interior of Turkey and the subsequent events which scattered children and relatives literally from one continent to another. A single example is merely suggestive of the complicity and futility of the situation. In the fall of 1921 there were 1,700 orphans under American care in Sivas. During the winter the Greek population of the Pontus was moved far into the interior, on long forced marches. Some of these unfortunate people went through Sivas. After the adult groups had passed on, a large number of little babes and children were found near the orphanage, obviously left with the hope that the Americans would save them. In the spring of 1922 the enrollment of this same orphanage was 5,200, an increase of over 200 percent.

The comparatively few survivors of this long trek reached the seacoast via Kharput, Diarbekr and south Turkey. In the catastrophic migration of nearly 1,400,000 Greeks from western Asia to Greece, these poor remnants from the

Pontus fled from Mersina and Alexandretta to northern Greece, where they were huddled into dilapidated Allied army barracks and immediately classified as refugees in refugee camps, without identity or individuality, fed en masse, suffering en masse, dying en masse. It was nearly two years before the Greek government was able to find other shelters for these people, scattering them to hundreds of old Macedonian towns and villages and building hundreds of new villages and settlements. Then and then only was it possible to investigate and start the long, slow process of identification.

During these same three years the children left at the orphanage in Sivas had been transferred with the other orphans from the interior of Turkey to Samsun on the Black Sea, just opposite to the route of their unknown relatives. They had then been taken by boat past Constantinople to Athens. There they had been placed in one of the thirteen newly established orphanages, none nearer than a day's journey from the closest refugee camps of Salonika.

It was necessary for the Americans in charge of reuniting these broken families to train local investigators who were directed in systematic visitation of all the newly established refugee villages. Every villager was questioned—was there a mother who had lost a child—an adult whose near family had been lost with possible surviving children? A careful record was made of conversation and this mass of information was transmitted to the Athens headquarters and analyzed and compared with the facts on each orphan's record card. When the office data gave a probable clue this was amplified by further information from the orphanage, accompanied by a picture of the orphan in question. The data and picture were taken to the village by the investigator and again checked. Upon proper confirmation of all the evidence and upon assurance that the relatives or villagers were able to care for the orphan, the child was brought from

the orphanage to Athens, sent with a worker to Macedonia and placed with the newly found relative. Another broken family was recorded as having been reunited. Not a single case was noted of a relative, no matter how distant, showing the slightest evidence of unwillingness to accept full responsibility for the child, no matter how meager their economic circumstances. The expressions of gratitude at the time of reunion made a profound impression on the workers as recorded in their reports.

Frequently a mother and child could be brought together in a common shelter, but the widow living in refugee conditions and unable to find sustaining employment was not considered by the investigator as in a position to take the child and give it even the semblance of food and clothing necessary. In many of these cases, especially where more than one child was involved, the investigator would help set up a small home by granting the mother a monthly subsidy sufficient to provide for the simple necessities of the home. Thus the child was returned to a near-normal living environment; at the same time the home conditions were continually supervised to protect the welfare of the child. Another modification of this subsidy program was the maintenance of a department known as the "fatherless children."

A special committee was organized for this purpose among the friends of Greece, called "The Fatherless Children of Greece." The funds which were collected were transmitted to a group of Athenian women who made the investigation and selection of those widows and children to benefit by this specially designated benevolence. As many as 2,000 half-orphans at one time were receiving monthly subsidies. After several years of service the committee affiliated itself with the Near East Relief.

Widows left with children under ten years of age would frequently bring them to an orphanage, being unable to find work and maintain the home. Such cases were investigated

and generally it was found possible to retain the home by subsidizing the mother on the basis of the number of children. Regular visitations were made and as rapidly as the economic condition improved the subsidy was readjusted until the home again became self-sustaining.

A large percentage of all the children in the orphanages after 1923 were alien to the country. Some of them were similar in race and language but still they were the underaged generation of refugees. Those in Syria had come from Turkey; those in Greece had come from Turkey and were both Greek and Armenian; and those in the Caucasus had, in some part, come from Turkey, although the majority were indigenous and localized.

Greece had opened her doors without discrimination to Greek and Armenian refugees alike and had generously provided housing for orphans without questioning their nationality, but there was no permanent Armenian population in Greece. The Armenian refugees began to explore the economic possibilities of several countries for future homes. It became evident there was not going to be a large permanent background of Armenian people in Greece among whom the Armenian orphanage population could be distributed.

Near East Relief consequently made a careful survey of the possibilities of placing Armenian children among their own people outside of Greece and found that the rather large and settled Armenian colonies of Cairo and Alexandria were willing to co-operate. The Egyptian government was persuaded to admit over 2,500 orphaned boys and girls. The boys were placed in extension orphanages for a year, during which time they were apprenticed to trades and skills, mostly owned or managed by Egyptian Armenians. At the end of the period of learning by doing, the boy was discharged from the orphanage and generally a small group of like-minded lads rented living quarters and began life as future citizens of Egypt.

The girls were cared for by a committee of local Armenian women. Most of the girls were placed in Armenian homes where they worked and at the same time were protected and trained as home workers. Some of the older ones were married under the guidance of the committee of women. As the older boys have become able to maintain a home invariably they have selected their brides from among the orphan girls. Some of the younger girls were legally adopted by Armenian families. Dr. R. R. Reeder happened to be a passenger on the same steamer that took the first group of 125 Armenian girls from Greece to Egypt. The children ranged from twelve to sixteen years of age. Egypt is not so far away geographically from Greece but for these children it was very remote. However, the partings were more dominated by optimism and courage than by tears and regrets. Dr. Reeder wrote:

"The serious but cheerful faces of these girls impressed me profoundly. It was not easy to keep back the emotions. Here they were, a band of orphan pilgrims, empty handed, their only real asset being whatever good forces of character or habits of industry they possessed, aboard an Armenian 'Mayflower,' bound for Egypt. No parents, no country, no guardians except the great American heart, as expressed through the Near East Relief, which already had rescued them from a cruel fate. And their trust was in it and in their God. The conscious, firm purpose in their girl faces needed but little imagination on the part of the observer to spell out the heroic words of that sterling old Christian warrior, who was ship-wrecked crossing the same turbulent sea two thousand years ago: 'But one thing I do; forgetting the things which are behind and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on toward the mark'."

The uncertain future in the Near East directed the attention of many Armenians to the economic opportunities in France. Because of the close political relation with Syria

the larger number migrated from there and accepted the twelve months contractual labor requirements and later joined the rather large Armenian colonies scattered throughout France. Older orphans learned of these opportunities and asked to go. Over 1,500 boys and girls were thus placed in France. A special supervisory personnel was assigned to follow through with these orphans until they had evidenced a full adjustment to their new environment and economic condition.[1]

In the Caucasus, investigation revealed a relatively prosperous sector of Armenians in the Soukhoum region. Each community was asked by a worker to assume full responsibility for a number of children from the orphanages of the Caucasus. The response was encouraging. Children were sent until 1,600 were taken into the homes as foster children. Through the adjustment period these children have been fully supervised.

Where could boys of fourteen, or older, earn a living in Greece, amid a multitude of adult refugees, who were unable to find work, to provide themselves with even daily bread? These lads could not be turned out into the streets to beg, nor with the lack of funds could they be kept indefinitely in the orphanages. A partial solution to this prob-

[1] "Last evening I met over one hundred of the ex-orphans at a dinner and I would not have missed the experience for anything. They are as fine a body of men as I have seen in many a day; clean, decorous, healthy, friendly and full of pep. There did not appear a dull one in the lot. Several had their orphan wives and one couple a grand-orphan girl. They appeared in their relations with each other like members of one family. The majority of them might have been, from all appearances, sophomores or freshmen in an American college. They had come from all parts of Turkey. It was interesting to see what this diseased, emaciated, starved, repelling driftwood from the deluge of wrath and tragedy, had become through the efforts of the Near East Relief and the co-operation of the French government. Mr. Labelle, the director of this immigrant work, told me that only one or two per cent of the boys had failed to make good from the start. Even they were not vicious, but they did not like to work seriously. He said all were good citizens and were saving money. He would be glad to accept one or two hundred more. They have created a demand for more boys of their kind."—A Trustee, 1930.

Above: Assembly rooms were turned into classrooms with muslin screens. Studies, except for the very few, consisted of elementary subjects, training in their mother tongue and that of the country in which the children were being brought up. *Below:* Physical exercise, emphasizing team work, was a feature of orphanage life. The athletic schedule included gymnasium and track meets, football, volley ball and baseball.

Above: The director of boys' work at Syra giving one of his daily talks. The high caliber of the teachers and their influence on the children received frequent commendation from spectators. *Below:* The children were trained to make their own clothing, partly because the need was so urgent and the quantity required so enormous, and partly to develop their sense of responsibility.

lem was found in Macedonia. The village farmers were consulted and asked if they would take a boy as a student farmer, provide him with food and clothes, and give him the necessary spending money or allow him the privilege of tilling a piece of land for himself. The boys were to learn practical farming through work. The agreement covered a year. The renewal was optional and the terms readjustable by the boy himself in conference with the farmer, although the supervisor was generally consulted by the boy.

The boys in the orphanage were hesitant about accepting the proposal. Macedonia was another unknown country. The first twenty-five boys who were asked to go refused to accept any agreement whatsoever after their arrival. It was at the time of the year when they could secure temporary employment as day laborers in the tobacco fields at fifty cents a day. They were jubilant because it was their first money. They wrote to their friends back in the orphanage. More boys asked to go to Macedonia. The urge came from the boys themselves. But the work picking leaves in the tobacco fields was soon over. The boys had spent their first money quickly. The long winter months without prospect of food were before them. With hunger on their lips they came to the director, admitting they had made a mistake in not accepting the student farmers' agreement. They themselves turned an apparent failure of the placing-out experiment into a success. Nearly 2,000 boys were made self-supporting and self-respecting by starting as student farmers.

The placing of attractive small children for adoption was largely dependent upon local conditions. The total number of infants was relatively small and many of the children were most fortunate. They fitted into the niche left vacant by some child's death in a family. They received all the attention and care of a member of the family. The immigration law alone prevented the adoption of a larger number of

attractive orphans by American personnel and contributors. Zadi Gannaway, whose sweet voice has been heard by so many friends, is a striking example of a wizened orphan baby rescued, nurtured, trained into a normal, healthy child and adopted by one of the overseas workers.

The placing of children in strange homes, but not for full adoption, required the most careful investigation and constant watchful visitation to prevent the child from being neglected, abused or exploited as a servant. Before a family assumed responsibility for a girl the home was surveyed by an American, not a native worker. The supervision of such cases was strictly maintained. Children were accepted from American-directed institutions when they would not have been from local orphanages. Americans were admitted to the homes and their visitations were not resented, nor were their decisions questioned. This common American method, applied as a solution of the orphanage problem, was new to the Near East and its successful application was undoubtedly largely due to its being made operative by American personnel.

The permanently defective children were a distinct problem. The general absence of governmental facilities for subnormals, handicapped and incapacitated children, and the overcrowded conditions in the few local institutions, made it necessary for the organization to retain a lengthier obligation, including specialized training. As rapidly as possible arrangements were made for the transfer of responsibility to the government or local groups, sometimes by helping in the organization and establishment of specific institutions for the care of mute, blind, tubercular, subnormal and other permanently defective children; sometimes by granting subsidies for a limited period of years to local groups, and occasionally by adding dormitory space to existing institutions. In solving the problem of outplacement of these particular children many distinctive social welfare demonstra-

tions and contributions were made to the development of social science and practical helpfulness in several countries of the Near East.

For the majority of the children in the orphanages no homes could be found, no relatives discovered or opportunities offered for apprenticeship under sixteen. For these the vocational training, in a multitude of skills, was provided, with the expectation that not later than sixteen each child must leave the institution. The psychology was directed toward the merits of independence and self-support, toward the recognition that orphanage care and special protection was for the very young child. The attitude of the older boys and girls was remarkable. When their course of training was completed they were eager to make good outside. They evidenced complete confidence in the decisions of the American directors. When told that tomorrow they were being sent from Greece to Egypt, or France, or transferred to another part of Russia, they neither questioned nor reasoned why but, like the courageous orphan recruits they were, they went straight forward, adapting themselves in good spirit to their new circumstances.

No child was set adrift. They were placed out or "inplaced" as we preferred to call it under supervision. Each child was adequately provided with clothing and shoes and when necessary with a bed and bedding. The story of this supervision is the record of the post-orphanage program, the working boys' and girls' homes and the further adaptation of welfare methods to the children during the critical, impressionable adjustment period when they were commonly referred to as "ex-orphans."

CHAPTER XX

POST-ORPHANAGE PROGRAM

THE transition period, from the life of certainty within the orphanage to the insecure future without, was guarded and guided by a post-orphanage program. The institution nourished and trained the child, apart from the community, in a complete cycle of life. When the period of simple training was finished, or the lack of funds made it necessary for the boys fourteen and fifteen, and even younger, to leave the orphanage, they went into a strange and a generally unfriendly environment. They became economic competitors without family, lands, business or occupation to inherit. They had no home to which they could return after their day's labor and no parental sponsorship. They were alone against the world. Under ordinary conditions a child suddenly set adrift from home, either from necessity or choice, soon becomes an object to attract the interest of some community protective welfare agency. In the Near East the whole situation was abnormal, homes were broken and life was either economically shattered or paralyzed. Adult refugees, swarming everywhere, were eager to work for merely bread enough to keep them from actual starvation. Yet it was necessary to place out thousands of boys and girls from the orphanages each year under such conditions. These same children were the inescapable reason for developing a full post-orphanage program.

Every effort was made to find work for each boy, something that offered suitable opportunity for the future, not merely a day laborer's wages. The fact that these boys had

some American training was a decided asset in persuading employers to give them their first chance. Because the first group of boys generally made good the doors of employment were opened to others. Moreover, the boys themselves quietly assisted, searching and inquiring among their friends for opportunities for other boys still in the orphanage.

This was only the first step. "Where," inquired the working lad, "am I to sleep and eat? If I am sick where can I find medicine and a doctor, for I have little money from my small wages? I was in the orphanage school only a few years, I need to study and learn more. In the orphanage we played and had games—where can I find a place for recreation?" All these questions clamored for an answer.

There was the probability that the years of training and care in the orphanage would be dissipated in a large measure by the influence of an abnormal and unfriendly environment during the discouraging and impressionable first post-orphanage years. The organization had undertaken to train children, to build in them character and to fit them for life. At an early age they were forced to face life alone, their training incomplete and their characters unfixed. To conserve the efforts and purposes of the orphanage school it was necessary to develop and operate a carefully worked out post-orphanage program.

Most of the orphan children were strangers in new countries, they were not only surplus labor but they were foreigners. Their responsibilities to the local community had to be translated for them from theory into practice. As they grew older their duties and opportunities as potential citizens required interpretation. They were no longer in the orphanages though still orphans. They were becoming a part of a new order of life, with its liberties and restrictions. The forces of law and order were to be reckoned with. The disintegrating influences of irresponsible individuals and

groups had to be matched with stronger constructive forces. The organization established working boys' and girls' homes, night schools, recreational centers, clinics and libraries and above all the leadership and inspiration of American personnel assisted by young men and women chosen locally. The program was not a mere antidote for the numerous negative influences but it was a challenge to the best in each child; it was the hand of a foster parent guiding the adjustment into the community and into new life itself.

In some areas the inter-racial feelings were constantly present. The Armenian refugees were restless for they were confronted with unfriendly conditions and the necessity of a desperate struggle for existence. There was always the dream that some other country might offer a fairer opportunity. On the other hand, many of them had properties in Turkey for which they retained a faint hope of compensation and indemnity providing they remained nominally Ottoman subjects. To all this was added the perplexing question of military service and the persistent difficulties encountered in securing citizenship papers in the new country.

The unsettled condition of the alien adult Armenian population unsteadied the ex-orphans, made the adjustment to the community difficult and tended to separate the transient from the permanent. Racial barriers grew up and with them potential misunderstandings. These conditions were highly important in determining the post-orphanage program for Armenian boys in certain areas. Most of the children were extremely loyal to the organization and had implicit confidence in American leadership, they followed the advice and counsel of the personnel, they held their relation as alumni of greater significance than any other affiliation. Because of the attitude of the ex-orphans, the organization was able to create a program that not only guided and aided the individual youth to higher personal development but also di-

rected the group thinking and actions into better racial understanding and larger community co-operation.[1]

Employment could be found for most of the boys leaving the orphanage but at a meager wage. Positions that promised better opportunities for the future generally had the smaller immediate compensation. The terrific economic competition reduced the wages to the very minimum of existence and apprentices were paid even less. A boy might be able to buy his simple daily food, after which he had little or nothing left for shelter and clothing. Even if he were able to afford a meager lodging he could hardly find a vacant room in the refugee quarters where conditions were miserable and unhealthful. American personnel, supervising the placing-out work, soon found that the greatest ex-orphan need was a clean bed in decent surroundings. To meet the situation small houses were rented and equipped with double-deck beds from the orphanages, together with mattresses, sheets and blankets. A matron was placed in charge of several houses to maintain the standard of cleanliness and order. The boys from the first paid one day's wage a month toward the laundry and care of the home. As rapidly as the boy's financial condition improved his payments increased. When he was able, either alone or as a co-operator with others, to find livable quarters elsewhere he was dismissed from the home and a younger boy took his place. These homes were located as near as possible to the working centers where groups might be served readily and soon became

[1] "Next in importance to our good work in the orphanage is our work with outplaced orphans in normal community life. The effectiveness of the investment America has made in orphans shows up remarkably well when one follows the Near East Relief product into the communities, as I followed it in Thrace and in eastern Macedonia. Our work is appreciated. Our boys and girls are wanted and when outplaced uniformly set a high standard of integrity, industry and ability. As I see it we are not doing merely a touch and go sort of work with these strong youths in present day New Greece. We should do much more in order to conserve the investment already made."—Dr. O. S. Morgan.

an indispensable part of the post-orphanage program. They were frequently provided by the extra gift of some friendly contributor. Thousands of boys were served by these simple, clean, friendly places.

A group of lads found work in the port city of Piræus but they found no corresponding home there. A generous friend agreed to meet this extra expense outside the regular budget, and the home was opened and the beds were quickly filled. The usual program was put into operation. City officials attended the opening. A few months later the mayor and the city council approached the organization with the proposal to double the capacity of the home and take in more homeless boys of Piræus, the city paying the additional expense. This co-operation on the part of the municipality was a practical recognition of the value of the homes and an evidence of confidence in the methods and program of the organization.

The development of the homes for working boys, like many other projects, has been around a particular personality. Christopher Thurber, more than any other person, demonstrated the value of this form of post-orphanage protection. In the Greek area alone there are five homes for boys and two for girls, most of them having, in addition to living quarters, night schools and recreational clubs.

Homes for working girls were fewer and less needed since the outplacement program had graduated most of the girls into foster homes. Some girls had been trained as teachers and nurses, and they entered almost immediately upon their professional duties. The number of girls who were placed out in shops or general employment was comparatively small. The service rendered this limited group of girls, in providing a home, evening classes, supervised recreation, savings accounts and an employment bureau, was unique in that part of the world. These girls became economically

independent and self-respecting, through the protection of the homes.

Some form of supplementary education was essential for the children after they had been placed out and separated from the orphanage. Most of the orphans had been deprived of school opportunities during their earlier years. In the short time they were in the orphanage it was impossible to give them all the education an average child of similar age should acquire. Moreover, there was the additional handicap of learning a second language. Aside from this, every boy in the orphanage had been obliged to take vocational training so that at least half his time was spent in the shops or on the farm during his last years in the institution. This seriously cut into the time that could be allotted to more common but essential book work.

After the boy left the orphanage and was face to face with the serious economic competition, it often happened that his special vocational training was not followed in actual practice. His early choice was sometimes repudiated or else he found a better opportunity in some other occupation, both events calling for new and supplementary education. Night schools were organized to meet this distinctively post-orphanage situation. Where possible these classes were connected with the working boys' homes, club centers or new refugee camps, where a comparatively large number of ex-orphans were living near together; this in order that the school might be reached with a minimum expenditure of additional energy, for the common hours of labor are ten or more, and the night school came after long, hard labor, six days a week.

The enrollment was voluntary but the attendance was compulsory. The subject material was adjusted and readjusted to the varying needs and conditions of the boys themselves. There was comparatively little vocational training, since this came through the daily apprenticeship in

the shops or in the stores. The boys born abroad, early realized the necessity of perfecting the fluent use of their new national tongue. Consequently, the writing and speaking correctly of the new language they must daily use formed the major part of the curriculum. Other subjects that were taught included commercial courses in bookkeeping, arithmetic, typing and stenography; instruction in mechanical and electrical subjects, music and recreation.

In those communities where girls were permitted to work at daily tasks in shops and manufacturing plants, and where working girls' homes were established, night schools followed. The girls felt the same need of supplementary language study as did the boys and the courses were adapted to the varied employments. The staff for these evening schools was recruited from the best of the orphanage teaching force, supplemented by members of the office force and outside instructors with occasional volunteers from the American personnel.

A lad about fourteen, not an ex-orphan, applied for admission to the class in English at one of the night schools in Athens. He was told the class was already too large and moreover it was restricted to ex-orphans. Then he bravely related his story. He was a bell boy at the Grand Bretagne Hotel and was the oldest of four children. His father had been a soldier and had been killed. He explained that, because he did not know English, he never had an opportunity at the hotel to serve the generous tipping foreign patrons. An exception was made and he was admitted. His linguistic progress was rapid and within a short period he became a veritable walking advertisement to every tourist and visitor of the merits of the organization and its night schools. By giving this boy permission to attend the English class he prospered, as did his mother and three brothers.

The night schools did more than augment the ex-orphan's supply of knowledge and improve his economic condition:

they conserved and guided his early character training. The classes, the library, the spirit of comradeship, and the extra curriculum activities sufficed to keep the boys interested and well environed and they stimulated those other ex-orphan activities that focused around a recreational program.

The children were taught within the orphanage the social and physical value of play. Instruction was given in games common to the different countries. Competitive matches were frequent, both within and without the institutions, in soccer football, track and field events; mass gymnastics were supplemented by basketball, indoor baseball and scouting programs. Play in the orphanage was a part of the daily life resulting in strength of body and stability of character. It was natural that this early training should find continued expression in the post-orphanage activities. Sometimes it was a part of the program of the working boys' homes or the Near East League, while in other places it developed out of the initiative of the ex-orphans themselves.

Athletic clubs and recreational centers have more recently caught the imagination of the youth of many countries in the Near East. The ex-orphans formed Near East Relief athletic clubs and were aided in these efforts by the organization. So popular and widely known did one of these clubs become in Athens that scores of non-orphans applied for membership. The ex-orphan basketball team of this same club was runner-up in the national basketball championship, losing the final match by a single point. The government encouraged clubs of this kind by granting land for athletic purposes, providing the grounds were improved and made available during the day for the recreational use of the public school children.

In Syria, Egypt and Greece these organized post-orphanage recreational and play programs have been an important factor in ameliorating the inter-racial problem. The ex-

orphan strangers have been thus introduced, through games, to the other racial elements in the same city, whom they have met upon the playground and football field, where they intermingled in a friendly way without arousing economic jealousy. The handicap of linguistic imperfection was less noticeable. They introduced new games and exhibited a true element of sportsmanship. Because the post-orphanage recreational program was an important factor in the adjustment process of the placed-out orphan, it required especially qualified American leadership. The service was enlarged to include other than purely ex-orphan groups, thus enriching the life of the community as a whole. In Beirut and Aleppo the values of recreation as a medium of expressing inter-racial friendliness and good will was especially emphasized.

The physical condition of the children was of primary concern within the institution. A major portion of the early medical efforts were necessarily spent in curing contagious diseases, rebuilding undernourished bodies and vitalizing undeveloped children. The orphanage clinics and hospitals had first claim in each child's schedule, where health was of primary consideration. Children with a negative health test were not outplaced until cured. The unsatisfactory health condition of the average rural community, where the children must eventually live, was in sharp contrast to the orphanage. Malaria, tuberculosis and intestinal parasites were virulently active in almost epidemic form.

Moreover, the average outplaced child found the economic struggle provided only meager food, not the balanced ration of the orphanage, while the crowded living conditions added another source of danger. New diseases developed and old ones recurred. In the struggle to survive there was no place for the boy with defective health. It was essential under these conditions that each child should have free access to a clinic, as a preventive measure against ill health

and as an aid to recovery from slight illness. For cases of severe sickness a visiting nurse and a doctor, even hospital care, were provided. Even with a preventive program and extra medical facilities many children had to be readmitted to the orphanage for further health care or carried over periods of long illness. No service was more needed or more effective than the health clinics and post-medical attention.

It was impossible to maintain a doctor, a nurse or a health center in every village and town where children were placed. To meet the needs of those whose new homes were in rural communities an itinerant health service was established. In the Caucasus the first health wagon was equipped with medicines, instruments, posters, and simple health literature, drawn by two horses with an orphan as the driver and a trained nurse in charge. A regular schedule was maintained, reaching the remotest villages. Its ministry of healing extended not only to the ex-orphans but to any who might need its services. In good weather the health wagon nurse could treat as many as 800 people a month, over 60 percent of them being children. For the ex-orphans it was more than a mere health wagon; it was a direct contact with the old orphanage world. They consulted the nurse about their personal problems as well as their physical ailments and asked endless questions about their former associates and teachers.

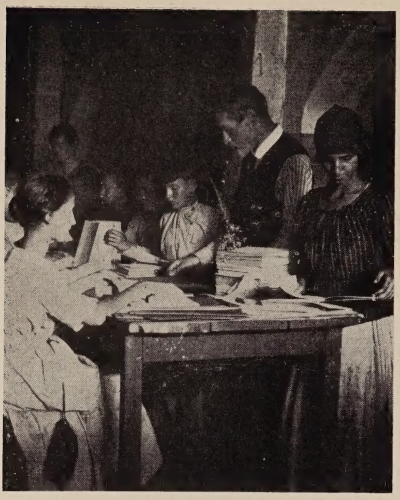
Ambulant health clinics were sometimes on wagons, sometimes on fitted up automobile trucks. What started out to be a program limited to the ex-orphans in the remote villages, developed into a general health service for the whole community. Miss Janet McKay, a nurse of many years of distinguished service in the Caucasus, made this idea effective in practice. The standard of health was raised in many villages and most of the local orphan nurses who had been trained for public health nursing in the orphanage training

school found effective opportunity for special health service to the community.

In Egypt the post-orphanage program was unified under the name Near East Relief Club with membership composed of orphan graduates. The aim as set forth in the application for membership was to "educate its members mentally, spiritually, morally and physically, thus developing in each member sound character, so that he may become a living example of good citizenship in the community in which he lives." A list of the club activities included social, moral, religious gatherings and talks, night classes, library and reading room, indoor games and recreation, outdoor athletics, savings accounts by special arrangement with one of the well known banks of Egypt, visitation of boys in their places of work and in their places of living, an employment bureau, medical clinic and visiting nurse, musicals, dramatics, restaurant and barber shop. Thus the club, the place of work and the group home formed the triumvirate which fully occupied each boy and provided each member of the club with ample opportunity for growth and pleasure. The large majority of the ex-orphans in Egypt were active members of the club in regular and constant attendance.

The club rendered two distinct service outside its regular organizational activities: it was impossible for a lone boy to find a suitable place to live, within his limited income, but eight to twelve boys could join together and rent a small flat, furnish it with beds and there live together in cleanliness and comfort. The director of the club helped arrange these groupings and, through the agency of a visiting house mother, had each home inspected weekly. It was interesting to note that the boys themselves always insisted upon selecting their home. They would search until they found a flat which had the two essentials—running water and plenty of light. Their success was evident to any visitor who had to climb three and four flights of stairs be-

Above: A class in cooking at Leninakan. *Below:* Serving and eating a meal at Kyra. As most of the girls expected to be homemakers, each received training in domestic science, dairying, gardening, weaving, dressmaking, etc. As many vocations for women as the countries afforded were included in the curriculum and a few new professions, such as nursing, were inaugurated.



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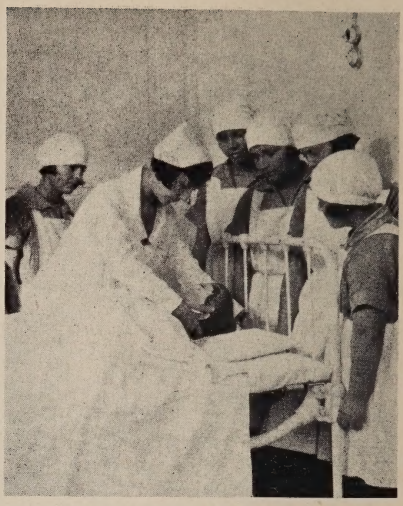


Nurses training.

Weaving.

Embroidery.

fore finding the rooms which the boys called home. Scores of self-selected, self-maintained working boys' homes of this kind are scattered over Cairo and Alexandria. They are maintained intact until some older boys feel economically able to get homes of their own and so relinquish their places in the group to younger lads just leaving the orphanage. An observer who recently visited this work in Egypt writes:

"The monthly home coming of the children on Sunday was another distinctive activity of the graduate clubs. It was a notable and regular event in the lives of the 2,500 boys and girls who had been transferred from the orphanages in Greece to the business and home making opportunities of Egypt. Boys thirteen and fourteen years of age, lads still in their apprenticeship; older boys in the pride of self-support; girls who had been placed in homes; young men and young women, who were old enough to think about home making, and a few married folks were all there. They had a common heritage, the orphanage home and orphanage training. The first groups to arrive in Egypt had blazed a trail of welcome and showed the succeeding groups the way to achieve self-support and adaptation in a new country. There was the warmth of friendship and acquaintance. They gathered long before the appointed time and mingled in comradely groups. A simple, informal supper was served, consisting of a single large sandwich and a cup of tea. The band, another heritage from orphanage life, proudly furnished music. The club announcements were made. The director addressed the gathering briefly upon some of the outstanding objectives of life, followed by a program of speaking, entertainment and music. The young folks lingered long after the last song was sung.

"This particular post-orphanage program in Egypt, where the problems of race and language were paramount, bore the unmistakable stamp of its director, Reed M. Davidson. With a warmth of satisfaction he conducted the visitor to the

places where the boys worked, in some forty-seven different trades. His reception by the employers was almost equal in friendly interest to the warmth of the response from the boys themselves. He pointed with pride to the record of these lads in Egypt: more than 1,100 boys, between the ages of twelve and eighteen, were brought from orphanages to the cities of Cairo and Alexandria, cities of 1,000,000 and 500,000 respectively.

"During five years less than 10 per 1,000 have been arrested or come into contact with the law. Two of the boys arrested were found innocent; two were found guilty of petty thefts on circumstantial evidence only; the one serious case was a boy who struck his employer in a fit of anger, and the other arrests were for violation of the traffic rules. The director in noting these facts referred to a magazine article which stated that the court records of the city of Detroit showed in 1925 that of every eight boys under nineteen, living in the city, one had been arrested. The good record of the Near East Relief boys in Egypt was due to their preliminary character training in the orphanage, plus the guides and protections which were provided by the club life under American directorship."

The oldest form of post-orphanage self-motivating activity was the Near East League. Children while in orphanages had their friendships and contacts only with other orphans. When they left the institution and were placed out in homes or in trades, it was inevitable that they should wish to maintain their contacts and associations. There were no community clubs or organized activities for them to join, no night schools or social centers. To meet the situation the organization proposed a voluntary association of all ex-orphans, whose purpose should be "to promote mutual helpfulness on the part of the members in securing the best practicable opportunities for self-support and service. Regardless of station, race, creed or personal reward, to seek

the economic, industrial, social and moral welfare of all residents of the Near East. To strive for nobility of character, to take service to others as the rule of life."

This general idea was developed in each area. In Syria it took the form of a Near East League. Wherever there was a group of ex-orphans, so far as practicable a self-sustaining and self-operating chapter of the league was organized, with a part-time local secretary. Each chapter elected a representative on a larger general executive council. The league program offered an opportunity for self-expression, for initiative and for growth through participation and actual leadership in meetings arranged and presided over by its own members. The social and recreational activities were planned by various local committees while the relief organization furnished the meeting places, teachers for the night schools, equipment and an adviser.

The programs of the nine chapters were similar, varying with local interest and leadership. A mass meeting presided over by one of its number was held each Sunday evening, at which all the members were expected to be present, when a program of music and speaking was presented. During the week night classes were held and on Sunday classes in religious education. Social evenings were held at least once a month. Athletic games and opportunities for recreation were a regular part of the activities of each chapter.

The part-time secretary was also the employment agent and acted as a sort of clearing house for jobs and workers. Each month the records of the league indicated the number for whom new employment had been found, the number of wage increases obtained and the number aided in securing back pay or other adjustments. The league issued a monthly paper called the "Star," which helped to unify the scattered members over Syria in the chapters at Aleppo, Alexandretta, Damascus and Beirut.

The enrollment in the nine chapters fluctuated according

to local economic conditions and the movement of refugee populations, but it was seldom under 1,000. When members left Syria they retained their affiliation with the league. Henry Murphy devoted several years to the development of the league. He stimulated the various groups to enlarged and enriched activity through friendly leadership and wise counsel.

The outplaced orphan, going to a relative of the second or third degree, or beginning life as a student farmer in some remote Macedonian village, found himself in a strange and depressing environment. In the orphanage he had learned certain ideals of cleanliness, sanitation and health. Macedonian village life was utterly different, but a few years removed from Turkish misrule and torn and scarred by the occupation of the armies of the Allies in the Great War. The influx of the mass of exiled Greeks from Turkey had flooded the country with refugees, no less than 500,000 of whom were settled on the crowded plains and in the villages of western and central Macedonia.

There was the impetus of a gigantic reconstruction program under the Refugee Settlement Commission. A large portion of the total loan was spent in building hundreds of new rural villages and supplying the refugee farmers with cattle, plows and seed. The whole aspect of northern Greece was transformed by the labors of those destitute exiles, striving against undernourishment and broken morale, to start life again in a new country. Children going into this environment were surrounded with potent forces struggling forward, but vastly different from the orphanage life. Usually the villages were too poor to afford churches, and government funds were inadequate to build sufficient schools. There was the desire for betterment, but the requirements of daily bread and simple, warm clothing left little or no surplus for other things.

The organization realized that any effective post-orphan-

age program must be carried to the villages. Moreover, it must serve the entire community, not merely the exclusive group of ex-orphans. It must improve the environment, the health, the agriculture and the play, it must seek to lift the standard of the entire village life and extend the opportunities afforded orphans to the entire village. The best American rural educational methods were transferred to Greece and adapted to Macedonia. Two American experts, Harold Allen, a Smith-Hughes exponent from the staff of the New Jersey State College of Agriculture, and Clayton Whipple of Cornell, a teacher of agriculture and rural community activities, were appointed the directing supervisors. Six young Greek teachers co-operated. A circuit of thirty-six villages was reached each year, with a program consisting of evening courses in agriculture; special village meetings; project demonstration through the village school and scholars; organized recreational and social activities, to counteract idleness and the influence of the village coffee house; reading rooms and health service; individual advice; farm demonstration and, in a multitude of other ways, guidance of the community into an enriched life and increased income.

The whole program was primarily a demonstration of the best American rural practices in the expectation that the essential parts could be adapted to the Near East and, after an adequate demonstration, adopted by the people and the governments as their own program.

The outplacement program in the Caucasus had been forced to undesirable extremes because of the serious lack of funds and the inability of the organization to train fully all the orphans within the institutions. Boys who had received elemental experience on the farm or in the dairy were more easily placed as student farmers or helpers than other children. They went into the villages and became a part of the great rural population. Some of them refused to be

classified as "just another farmer"; they had longings for more information, for something different and better; they asked to come back to the orphanage farm in the Caucasus to have a few months' more instruction during the winter season. To meet this real problem the organization opened a vocational agricultural school in one of the old orphanage buildings. The school and farm were placed under the direction of Everett D. Gunn with a practical short term curriculum. In order that it might serve the largest number of villages, rather than individuals, one or two students were selected by the village itself and sent to this extension school, where demonstration of modern methods occupied the larger part of the instruction.

The boys and girls within the orphanages were a cross section of the child life of the Near East. As the educational programs were formulated, the organization adapted its training to the special needs of the individual child through training in vocational skills and specialized subjects. Orphans who showed a marked adaptability, either for leadership or scholarship, were encouraged in their development. The organization was making an investment in childhood for the benefit of the future of a new Near East; it was wise strategy to select from the large number of children those who had potential qualities of leadership. The director of each orphanage selected for special consideration a "core group." When the outplacement program was necessarily hastened, on account of inadequate funds, the core groups remained to complete their special training within the orphanage.

The organization, by adopting vocational guidance methods, sought to direct the training and purposes of these core groups toward those lines of practice which would best serve the community and the social needs of the Near East. Emphasis was placed upon the value of normal and nurses' training. Where facilities existed outside the orphanage

for such training, the preliminary orphanage instruction was adjusted to meet the requirements of these governmental or private institutions. Where no nurses' training schools existed and where normal schools were inadequate, special courses were arranged by the organization itself, in order adequately to prepare orphans in the core groups for service to their respective countries and communities.

In Armenia and in Greece there were no nurses' training schools when the program was first outlined. Experienced Red Cross nurses in the employ of the organization were placed in charge of selected groups of older girls who previously had received practical training in the orphanage clinics and hospitals, and a full three years' course of nurses' training, adapting western methods and standards, was instituted. At first the practical work was done in connection with the orphanage hospitals which frequently served the community as well as the orphans.

The school in the Caucasus was named after one of the Red Cross nurses, Edith Winchester, who early gave her life in the service for Armenia. This school in its training course especially emphasized public health nursing. A large percentage of its graduates were employed by the government as community nurses in an extensive rural health program. The school later united with the Armenian Red Cross and a government hospital at Erivan, which hastened the process of making the school more indigenous and of making it a permanent contributing factor to the health needs of the country as a whole. The average yearly enrollment of the school was sixty-five student nurses. Over one hundred and seventy-five nurses were numbered among its graduates, most of whom continued in the nursing profession, either in hospitals or in community health clinics.

The nurses' training school in Greece followed a similar development to the nurses' school in Armenia. It was first organized within the orphanage and later enlarged and

affiliated with a local hospital in Athens. The majority of the students in the school were orphan girls who had received their inspiration and early training in practical work within the orphanage hospitals and clinics. As soon as the Greek Red Cross indicated its purpose to organize a national school for nurses, the organization co-operated and merged its training school, transferring to the common project some of the students and an American nurse.

All educational activities had been interrupted in the Near East for a long period of years, including the training of teachers. Soldiers who had been in contact with the armies of Europe carried back into their villages an insistent demand for schools and more and better opportunities for their children. The refugees, as soon as their immediate needs of hunger were satisfied, began to plan for the betterment of their own condition and that of their sons and daughters. There was a general wave of enlightenment and of desire for education sweeping over the entire Near East. To meet this demand for additional teachers, equipped with better methods of instruction, the organization established normal schools or co-operated with the government schools in their training courses.

Teaching as an opportunity for service was presented to the orphans as an ideal. Carefully selected children were given special preliminary training to equip them for the teaching profession. In this program the organization received the fullest possible co-operation of the various governments which fully appreciated the value of and necessity for this kind of training.

Not all the children who showed special aptitude and who were selected for the core groups chose to be either nurses or teachers. A careful survey was made of opportunities for additional training, either in American educational institutions in the Near East or in national institutions. A large number of the selected orphans had been

especially sponsored by interested contributing friends in America. Through the continued generosity of these particular friends sufficient funds were provided to enable over one hundred boys and girls each year to receive additional training for leadership.

The president of one of the American schools in the Near East, where ten of the boys were special students, reported that seven of them led every class in which they were enrolled and that they were among the best disciplined and best behaved boys in the school. The orphans established an enviable reputation in all the schools of the Near East. On the testimony of the directors of these schools they were outstanding because of their good influence upon the student body in general and because of their higher-than-average individual scholarship.

CHAPTER XXI

ORPHAN ACHIEVEMENT

It is too early to attempt to trace the career of the children who have been orphanage trained and later have entered outside life. It would be impossible to make anything like a fair estimate of what graduates from American high schools will achieve in after life, if made from one to five years after their graduation. It is more difficult to estimate the future success or failure of the children who have graduated from the orphanage schools of the Near East Relief. All of them go out into a society glutted with the unemployed and usually without relatives or friends to help them get a start or to protect them when started.

We must keep in mind that there was no selection of children in the first instance. All who were without a known father, or relatives able to support them, were gathered into the orphanage, irrespective of their mental or physical condition. Some were blind, some were deaf and dumb, others had incurable diseases, all were undernourished and in deplorable physical and mental condition. This was the material with which the Near East Relief workers had to deal. Each case was dealt with according to its primal need and an effort was made to develop to the full the physical, mental and moral faculties of every child. Many of these waifs were from families who, prior to the war, were prosperous and enterprising, but who had lost everything through the deportations.

Tens of thousands of the children were taken under the care of the organization and trained until they became sixteen years of age. Others, prior to this age, were out-

placed as rapidly as relatives or others could be found who promised to provide a home where the child would be protected and given a chance in life. Children, to the number of more than 132,000, were in the American institutions for a period.

It is possible, even at this early stage, to give some impression of the way these children are making good in the places which they occupy. Since 1923 the educational organization of the Near East Relief has been greatly improved. The children have been receiving a better practical training for life than have the other children in the same areas. This fact has been widely noted, especially in Greece and in Russian Armenia, where local authorities have urged that the doors of the orphanages be thrown open to others.

Prior to 1923, little attempt was made to follow up outplaced children. All the forces at the command of the organization were required to meet the daily demands of the dependent children and refugees. For seven years outplacing has been systematized under skilled workers and careful plans have been carried out for inspecting the places to which the children were sent and to maintain relations with each child, whether placed with relatives or strangers.

While in appeals to the public, chief emphasis has been placed upon the need of the child in the orphanage, the Committee has been awake to the fact that the satisfactory placing of the child was of equal importance, since it was necessary to conserve and make useful to society and the world the life that had been saved and trained, or the chief value of that effort would be lost. It is believed that all contributors to this child salvaging enterprise will take the same view and be glad to have a glimpse of how some of the children are beginning to make good since leaving the shelter of the orphanages and entering upon independent, self-supporting careers. If the great proportion of the children, or any considerable number of them, had become vagabonds

or something worse, the supporters might well question whether the effort and cost to save them from death had been worth while.

In order to satisfy itself, the Committee has collected from its child welfare workers reports of how the children who have graduated are giving account of themselves in actual life. In considering these statements the reader must bear in mind that it is most difficult, under present conditions in the Near East, where industrial competition is intense, for a child fifteen or sixteen years of age to win his way and attract notice, especially with a handicap of language limitation. The Armenian children and many of the Greek children who were taken from Turkey to Greece did not know the Greek language and those who were transported to Syria and Egypt did not know Arabic. The orphanages had been able to give them but the fundamentals of the language of their new home. Nevertheless, those who have been closely identified with the work are gratified at the way the children have undertaken the task of self-support for themselves and have recognized that they are a part of the society into which they have entered.

Of course there have been cases of failure, but the percentage of failures is less than that among children who are thrown wholly upon their own at the same ages in Europe and America. All the children who have graduated cannot now be traced, for some have emigrated with relatives and others were outplaced before the supervisory program was perfected. There is, however, a list of thousands who have been outplaced within the last years with whom contact has been maintained and regarding whom reports are at hand. It is from this list that we draw our conclusions regarding others who have gone beyond our knowledge. Also, we have a right to assume that as those who have been for three or four years successfully supporting themselves, others more recently outplaced will follow.

There were in the spring of 1928 some 20,000 children still in process of training or of being integrated into community life. These have been longer under instruction and therefore have received a more rounded preparation for life than those who left the orphanages earlier. However high the standard of the earlier graduates may be, there is reason to expect that the final 20,000 children, because of their better preparation and fuller discipline, will surpass them.

No better evidence can be given of the outcome of the child training than to quote a few individual cases taken from different areas. These might be continued almost indefinitely for the volume increases with each foreign mail. Those quoted here are not exceptions, but are chosen to illustrate different phases of the problems the children have to face and solve. The pluck, courage, industry and perseverance with which the boys and girls have assumed the serious business of living and exercising their ideals give assurance that their saving and training have been worth while.

Primarily, the great mass of children are "hewers of wood and drawers of water." They are found in almost every village in Macedonia, in the cities of Greece, in homes from the Black Sea to the Caspian, far beyond Mount Ararat, in the new rural settlements of North Syria, in Persia and among the towns of Egypt, Syria and Turkey. In the artisan shops, fields and homes, they have been accepted chiefly because they are sturdy, industrious, skillful, cheerful and honest.

In May, 1928, a town in the Caucasus sent a delegation to the American orphanage for a blacksmith. The boy Arsen was chosen. Forty villagers agreed to become his regular customers, each willing to pay him twenty pounds of wheat a year. Arsen now has 200 patrons.

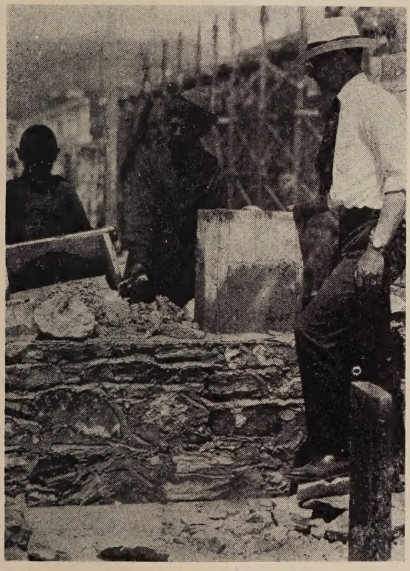
"It is well known how your girls turn out and the care Near East Relief takes of them," wrote the mayor of a

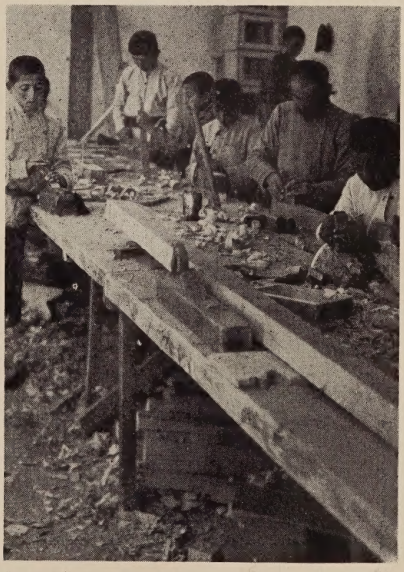
town in Macedonia. Of thirty-seven girls placed in ten villages in his district, twenty now are married—"good housewives and object lessons to the villagers," the mayor reports. One of the girls, Sophia, when there came a windfall to her through the Greek government in the form of a small indemnity for the property of her family taken in the exchange of populations in Turkey, purchased a piece of land and built a cottage of two rooms with a kitchen, designed, for cleanliness and simple conveniences, as near like her American orphanage home as possible. Then she found a husband, Nicolaos, a prosperous young mechanic. Their home is a model for the entire district.

A slow planting of better social ideas is going on in many of the 1,800 villages, town and cities of the Caucasus, Syria and Greece where these wards have been placed. The social ideas cover principally: ways of working, home making, care of babies, changed attitude toward marriage, recreation, honest endeavor, co-operation, citizenship, human service, and rural welfare.

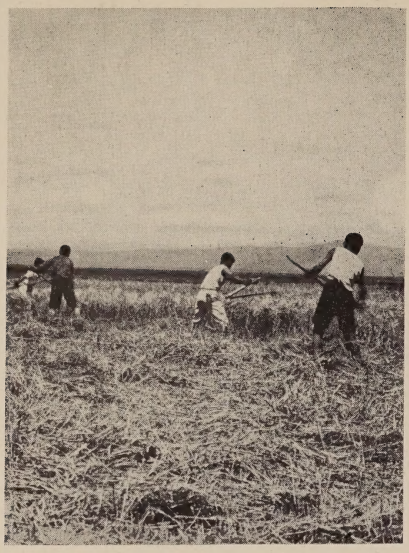
The desire for better homes and better ways of living is a tremendous urge with them. In Macedonia, as boys and girls come of age and make their own homes, they cut holes in the walls of stone huts which have been windowless for generations. Inside they decorate the bare walls with health posters.

Up in the wilds of western Macedonia are two ex-orphan boys who are real pioneers of farming. After leaving the orphanage they were helped in 1924 to enter Larissa Agricultural School, a government institution, and last year they were graduated from the school and were given employment by Near East Relief as itinerant farm instructors among their fellow orphans and refugees. Each of these lads is responsible for six villages and they can be found any day going the rounds of their villages and giving of the knowledge they have gained to their own people who are strug-





Above: An orphanage farm school in the Caucasus. *Below:* Young masons and carpenters. As eighty per cent of the Near Eastern people are farmers, this type of work was paramount in the training, although the orphanage vocational schools taught forty-seven trades.



Cutting hay for winter feeding.

A class in animal husbandry.

In the dairy.

In the orphanage poultry yard.

gling along, trying to gain a living in a new land and under new conditions. They are the agents of the government in its endeavor to help the refugees by the introduction of more modern methods in agriculture.

In a village near the Bulgarian border, is an ex-Zappeon orphan boy. Owing to his scholarship, he has been for the last year secretary to the mayor and keeps all the accounts of the refugees in his village in connection with the government colonization department. He is known in all the surrounding villages as "the Americanos" and he is proud of his title.

An American worker in Greece writes: "In a remote village on the northern border, one of the orphanage girls, named Paraskevia, married an orphan farm-boy. They had a baby girl. When Paraskevia heard that I was working in that region, she came almost a day's journey on mule-back with her baby to seek advice. To my surprise, the baby was tightly enveloped from head to foot in the traditional village swaddling clothes. 'Yes, the mothers of the village would think I was mad if I did not follow their ways,' she said. 'I am very unhappy. What must I do?' We agreed that she should unbind the baby and go back and face the villagers. 'I will try it for three months, and if my baby grows and improves I will be able to carry on,' Paraskevia promised. Recently I visited the village, and was greeted by Paraskevia with a fat and smiling baby, and she proudly took me around and showed me how many of the mothers were following her example."

An idea of the significance of true affection in marriage possesses the girls from the orphanages, far different from that to be found in the villages. Their idea of entering matrimony through the natural process of mutual sentiment and engagement and then marriage is a subject of much interest and discussion. An Armenian worker in Greece reports: "Two sisters went from the orphanage to an uncle. They

lived happily until the uncle arranged a marriage for one of them. They refused to accept the arrangement. They said, 'We prefer to work and make our own way.' Later they married, but after acting as principals in their own engagements."

"There is a naturalness and a fine individual freedom about the lives of these girls," reports an American worker in Aleppo. "Moreover, the mingling of the boys and girls in their school work and in the welfare activities after leaving the orphanages, has brought about a remarkable absence of self-consciousness quite unique in this part of the world." For this reason there are many successful marriages as the girls grow into mature life. In Egypt, 113 of the girls have found good husbands in the well established Armenian colonies of Cairo and Alexandria. "This despite the fact," writes a worker, "that they have no dowries, which are an important factor in marriages in the Near East. So popular have our girls become as brides, that complaints have been filed several times with the head of the Armenian church in Egypt, by parents, that their own daughters of far better families were being neglected by the youth of the community."

A new appreciation of the importance of recreation is another importation of these children to remote villages. In a village high on the hills above the Black Sea, where there are forty outplaced children, a visiting welfare worker was besieged by the children to help organize village recreational activity. The worker pointed out that there was no place in the mountain-surrounded village for a recreational ground. "We will talk to the village fathers," said the children. Conferences with the headmen of the community developed that the only suitable place for such activities contained four great oak trees, older than any the village people could remember and almost sacred in their associations with the history of the village. A village meeting

was called to debate the question. The decision was in favor of the children and the playground. The trees were cut.

"Better and more intelligent ways of working," have lifted twenty-four of the boys who went to Egypt to foremanship in the industries of Cairo and Alexandria. Along the banks of the drowsy Nile, these lads have set up fresh standards of energy and skill in a manner that is described as inspiring by the local committee, headed by the American Minister. Twenty of these boys were selected for responsible positions by the Eastman Kodak Company for its Cairo plant. Eight are successful lithographers.

Of those who have gone out in the two years ending June 30, 1929, in Syria and Greece, ninety-five per cent are able to work at the trades they learned in the orphanages as contrasted with forty-five per cent previously. Intelligent methods based on the native foundation of vigorous application and sturdy courage, have given them a status in markets glutted with unskilled adult labor. There are many tragic little stories of trial, failure and restarts under the encouragement of their fellows and American supervision.

The girl has taken her place side by side with the boy in industry, by the same superior challenge of "better ways." One of the "masters" in the model government textile industry at Leninakan, Armenia, is Satenig, a girl of nineteen. She was six years under American care. "Her skill as an organizer was first apparent when she became a recreational teacher in the orphanage," writes a worker. "She had the power of leadership in directing large groups. A magnetic personality, with abundant good humor, alert—Satenig was a prize girl."

The spirit of honest endeavor is the most dominant characteristic, and the most attractive, of the great majority of outplaced children. In an old world where clever dealing has long been a thing of merit, these children are unique in their love of honesty and fair play. Seemingly, very justi-

fiable is the pride of the American representative in Egypt who records that of the boys employed in mercantile business, 125 are handling funds for their employers. "A hearty clasp of the hand, a straight look in the eyes, truthfulness—these are the trade-marks which make our boys known," writes the worker.

From the court records of the island government of Syra, Greece, comes the following story:

"A girl from the Syra orphanage was the only witness to an automobile accident, when a local chauffeur hit and killed a child in the town. The girl had to appear at the trial. Her testimony established that the chauffeur was innocent, that the child had run in front of the car before he could stop it. On the witness stand the girl was put through a grilling cross-examination in an attempt to break her testimony. Finally the judge leaned toward her with this question: 'How do we know you are telling the truth?' The girl burst into tears, and between her sobs indignantly said, 'In the orphanage we are taught to tell the truth!' "

There is a note of co-operation about this generation of children which is a new social idea in the individualistic life of the Near East, where there is a lack of ability for sustaining co-operative effort. Here is an illustration of a small beginning of co-operation growing out of the activities of the children.

In western Thrace, Gaspar, a boy from Syra, brought together three associates from the same orphanage, who, like himself, had been "on their own" for two years working on the land. "Do you know that old fellow who is burning limestone on the upper road?" asked he. "Well, he has been peddling that around here for years and he turns out really very good lime. Now what I propose is this: The Refugee Settlement Commission (of the League of Nations) needs all the lime they can get for the houses they are putting up. You, Arsen, and you, Alexan, have each like myself got a

cart and a yoke of beasts. It's up to you, Abgar, to get an outfit somewhere. We've all saved a little money. Let's make a deal with the old lime fellow for his output and we'll deliver it to the Commission. This will leave the old man to devote all his time to his burning and maybe later he'll take us in with him in the business. Then we can expand."

A worker relates that it was not so easy as Gaspar expected. That is, the Commission bought its supplies on a competitive bid basis. The boys were new at the question of prices but they won a small contract. Then there were deliveries to be guaranteed and a deposit to be put up. They went to the Near East Relief supervisor of the district for consultation. Between them all and an interested merchant they found enough for the deposit. And so this first attempt at co-operative industry was launched.

Three of the boys from Antilyas, Syria, formed a company for manufacturing pottery in Damascus. Each boy had mastered a different part of the pottery process. Two other boys from the orphanage were engaged as salesmen. A small Near East Relief subsidy, according to custom, was granted to help them start and a small loan to secure material. Thus there has been launched in that ancient city an industry which promises to be a wholesome and successful example of the advantage of co-operation in developing the resources of a country and in building up commerce.

Against the spirit of mistrust which feeds disorganizing influences over the Near East generally, many of these boys are beginning to think through new ideas of citizenship. They debated these ideas in their orphanage and post-orphanage "club meetings." From the highly charged political atmosphere of the Near East, the orphanage boys and girls have not been isolated.

An American worker, gravely concerned, attended an inflammatory public meeting in Cairo, to which he knew several hundred outplaced orphan youths had been invited.

In the midst of a rabid address in which these junior tradesmen were adjured to join forces with a disorganizing effort, a stalwart youth still in his teens arose and interrupted the speaker. To the American's relieved surprise, the boy's words were a challenge:

"Where were you when we were homeless and in want and the Americans came to our rescue?" shouted the young fellow. "You were resting here in peace and plenty. Where were you when we were beseeching this government to let us stranger children from Turkey through their gates? You had nothing to say in our behalf. Now the Americans have given their word to the Egyptian government that we will be decent citizens and we mean to be true to that promise. If you have wrongs, let them be righted in proper order. We have no complaint to make." And then he withdrew amid the cheers of his fellows, and followed by all his orphan colleagues.

When the regular call came to do military service in Greece, some of the exiles from Turkey demurred. The government reduced the length of the term for all refugees. The boys from the orphanages were busy on farms and in the villages of Macedonia. Those who had reached the age of eighteen consulted the American supervisor: "We are agreed that it is our duty to serve; this is our adopted country," the majority declared. "But we want to protect our jobs against our return." The worker assured them he would do what he could and the boys went off with good spirit. They served on the cold north border of Greece, a hard life in winter. The American worker records that not one deserted. A majority of the boys found their employers eagerly waiting for them when they returned.

In the Caucasus, the boys and girls from the orphanage schools number more than 25,000. Some find opportunity to serve in public affairs where their sense of responsibility, honesty and human service secures unusual outlet. Citizen-

ship may mean one thing politically to the boy who is director of political education in the little Caucasus Republic of Nakhichevan on the Persian border, and an entirely different sort of thing politically to the boy from the Zappeon orphanage, in Greece, who is political secretary to a mayor up near the Bulgarian border, but, fundamentally there is the same impulse to serve, whatever the type of government, and the same interest in the public weal. We have yet to learn of a breach of public trust.

"In the model textile plant of Armenia, where there are 436 boys and girls," writes a worker, "344 are taking an active part in public life either in the various official commissions for education or in welfare work."

From a village in a remote valley of the Caucasus came a request to know when the busy American health wagon, which serves the outplaced children in that district, was coming. The request described, in good English, the unhealthful condition of the village and detailed suggestions were offered as to bringing some health literature. It was signed by the mayor. When the health wagon bearing a somewhat puzzled American health worker wound down the long hill into the valley, she was greeted by a group headed by a stalwart young man whom she recognized as Vartan, once an orphanage boy. "Now I understand," said the American worker, "it was you who sent the letter for the mayor." "Why yes, surely," said Vartan, as he led the way into the village.

Surrounded by excited children and interested adults, the health wagon made its way to the center of the village. There the American worker looked for the mayor. No one seemed to appear to do the honors. "Will you go and inform the mayor, Vartan, that we have come in answer to his letter," said the worker. "But the mayor is here," said Vartan. "You see, I am the mayor." "And here," continued Vartan, "is the mayor's wife who wrote the letter." His

wife was a Near East Relief trained orphan nurse. Together with her mayor husband she had established a clinic. She was in need of supplies and encouragement. Later this was to become a government village clinic, when national means permitted.

In the same village was another senior orphanage girl. She and a younger brother and sister were supporting themselves on three acres of government-allotted land. She was a member of a newly organized improvement committee. In the crude Caucasus villages hygiene and sanitation are unknown. Poverty, disease, dirt and ignorance are the common lot. Large families live in single rooms. In such villages, out of 1,645 children recently visited by an American worker, a total of 1,293 or eighty per cent had taken some active part in the slowly developing but still pitifully barren social or civic life.

In a village which lies at the foot of Mt. Olympus, in Greece, are two girls from the Syra orphanage. One is a nurse and is busy at her profession in this and nearby villages. The other, a girl of sixteen, now living with an uncle, has volunteered to establish a kindergarten and day nursery for mothers laboring in shops and fields. "Any afternoon you may find her with thirty youngsters, teaching them how to play, sing and count," reported the American supervisor of the region, in November, 1928. "The only equipment the girl has to work with is a few dolls and pictures that I have been able to give her, besides all the things she remembers from her days in the orphanage. The last time I was there she had some chestnuts strung on pieces of string and was teaching the little ones to count. One of the refugee women in the village told me 'Calliope is like an angel in our village and helps us all so much.' "

To a similar village in 1929 went a graduate from the Normal School. She begged the director to get permission for her to teach in the village where her refugee com-

patriots are, as she said, "I want to be of use to my own people and to teach the children in the ways we are taught by the Near East Relief."

It is what have been called the "forgotten places" that attract those among the boys and girls who have equipped themselves for humanitarian service—rural communities remote from centers of civilization. This is especially true in Macedonia and the Caucasus and may well be appraised as unique among the peoples of the Near East. For years western sociologists have been warning that Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece and Egypt must turn their minds and their devotions to the villagers and the villages, now woefully neglected, if they hope to avoid the undermining of their social structure. In at least five of these countries a beginning is in the making.

All the nurses trained in the Edith Winchester school of nursing in the Caucasus, without exception, chose to work in the wretched and needy villages rather than in the cities. To serve where the need is greatest even at extreme personal sacrifice seems to be the motive that dominates the graduates everywhere.

One of the nurses wrote to the American medical director in 1928. "Honorable Doctor: As to the place over here it is just lovely—full of trees. However, we are short of clean water and are using river water cleared by a stone filter. At present we have a scarlet fever epidemic. In just one week we have opened a twelve-bed hospital. There have been very few fatal cases. On Sundays we are practicing preventive medicine. We kill the mosquitoes, make inspections of the farms and in stables spray sulphur; we dry the marshes and put kerosene on the stagnant water." In this "just lovely place," Victoria, the nurse, treated 200 cases daily during the height of the malignant malaria season. She is the only nurse in a large district, with fourteen villages under the direction of the station.

Another girl went into the warmer villages and cotton fields with a health wagon. She reported: "Unfortunately, the beautiful place has malaria. Many of our children are suffering from it. They were so glad to see us coming with our health wagon. They were able to recognize us from a far distance as all of them knew the famous two white mules of Polygon.

"In 27 days we visited 36 villages where I gave medical aid to 250 children. Of them, 150 had malaria, 25 had eye disease, 45 had throat trouble, 20 had stomach trouble and 10 had favus. I also rendered medical help to many poor villagers."

From the mass of trained "hewers of wood and drawers of water" there stands out a selected number of specialized leaders who have been given advanced training in the American colleges and other institutions of the Near East. They number slightly more than three percent of the children in orphanage schools in 1925. This is in keeping with the Committee's policy of providing advanced training for only a comparatively few children showing unusual leadership qualities; training generally being limited to the elementary and vocational work of the orphanage schools.

Six hundred and forty-nine orphan children have been given training in ten American colleges and schools of the Near East and in twenty other schools in the five years from 1925 to 1930. Included among them are professors, engineers, doctors, hospital superintendents, artists, musicians, sculptors and agricultural leaders. Three hundred and sixty-six of this number were given special training in American colleges and private schools, and the others in the native universities and normal schools of Greece, Russian Armenia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine. These figures do not include the 197 graduates from the nurses' training schools of the Committee or the 263 graduates of its teachers' training schools.

In the American University of Beirut; Athens College; Anatolia College at Salonika; the American University of Cairo; the American Junior College for Girls at Phaleron, Greece; Robert College Engineering School in Constantinople; the American Mission Commercial School in Egypt; the Sidon Mission Schools; the American School for Girls and the Webb School for Girls in Syria, young men and women have advanced beyond the general average of orphanage school training to hold important posts of responsibility as the nuclei of a new leadership. To this list should be added the Greek normal schools and the agricultural schools of Amaroussi and Konitsa in Greece; the Polytechnic School and the Greek Red Cross School at Athens; the Military Artisans School at Salonika; St. Georges School in Jerusalem; the French Arts and Metiers School in Syria; the teachers training schools of Echmiadzin, Erivan and Leninakan in Armenia; the university schools of Erivan and the Erivan Conservatory of Music; the University of Tiflis, and other places for leadership-training in the Near East.

A product of this limited specialized effort is Savas Papadopoulos, A.B., M.A., Ph.D., a professor in the School of Philosophy, University of Athens. The university classes are not the only outlet for his mental energy. He writes, and his articles on better ways of life are readily accepted by the newspapers and periodicals of Athens.

A distinguished singer in the Caucasus republics was first just a good singer in the Seversky orphanage. Musically minded Americans recognized the bird-like quality of her notes and gave her help and encouragement. From Seversky she went to the National Conservatory of Music in Erivan, from which she was graduated into a career which may lead her to international prominence.

The earlier chapters of this story provide a sufficient understanding of the background of these children before

they entered the American institutions. The experience of some after leaving the orphanage is illustrated in the record of Yesnig Vetsigian, a boy of eighteen, as told by the American worker in Cairo.

"Yesnig was sent to me when I was in Macedonia, among the boys for outplacement on farms. A finger became infected enroute and one arm was badly swollen when he reached Kavalla. The arm was saved in a nearby British hospital. Yesnig showed his gratitude by asking permission to work without pay in the hospital. He was given the job of orderly, which he filled so well that the doctor placed him in the drug room where he advanced rapidly. When the hospital was turned over to the Greek government, Yesnig was released. He served in a drug store with low pay to improve his knowledge. Then he made his way to me in Egypt where he was helped to a position in a large drug store. He advanced here as far as he could without a diploma. In order to go to school he saved until he had fifteen pounds Egyptian in the bank. Then came a letter from a sister. Her husband was out of work and they were in distress. Yesnig drew out his treasured funds, sent for the sister, husband and young child, and maintained the family until the husband found work in the new land. The boy started again to save. Today he is in the University of Beirut School of Pharmacy."

Eighteen successful orchestra leaders of southern Russia are boys from the American orphanages. Six of the principal nurses in the city hospital of Erivan, capital of Armenia, are ex-orphan girls who now compete with more experienced nurses from Europe and win their way.

In Leningrad, old Petrograd, Russia, many of the new boats that are launched on the Neva River are from the designs of Boris Stuvkin, who spent twelve years in the American orphanage near Tiflis. "He received his training as a carpenter and cabinet maker in the orphanage shop."

related the former director in Tiflis. "When he was graduated from the orphanage he made his own way to Leningrad and, after considerable hardship, found work in the great shipyards on the river. He kept up correspondence with the manager of the orphanage and with the younger boys who remained. He seemed to take an older-brotherly interest in the boys. Later he came back to Tiflis for his vacation and spent it almost entirely visiting the orphanage which had nourished him and brought him up. His earnings were high as earnings go in Russia nowadays. When he returned to his work he took with him a young boy from the orphanage."

There are a number of examples of the "new woman" in the list of young leaders. One of the specialists in agriculture from the University of Erivan is a girl who got her liking for rural work in the practical orphanage farm school. Not all the young specialists have followed peaceful pursuits. An orphan boy who became assistant to the recreational worker in the Polygon orphanage and showed unusual organizing ability, chose a military engineering career. He holds the rank of colonel of engineers in the army.

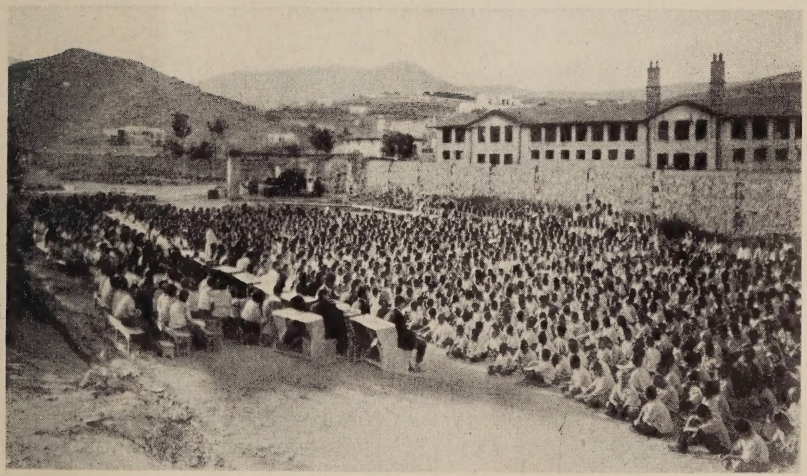
Hagop Margossian was the winner of a scholarship in the School of Arts and Metiers in Syria. For six years Hagop followed the regular orphanage routine, then when well equipped in trade training, he went out to earn his own living as an apprentice. Two years of "ups and downs" and hard night school study brought him an opportunity to compete for the greatly desired scholarship. His first attempt was a failure for lack of sufficient French. Five months later he passed. Unconscious of the significance of his feat, Hagop appeared timidly at the Committee's office, asking if it would be possible to grant him a loan to buy clothing and equipment to supplement his own funds and the scholarship, which provided for board and tuition. He was loaned twenty-five dollars. In 1929 he was graduated

with the highest honors from the Beirut School of Arts and Metiers, and, as our worker states in her report, "the American people have every reason to be proud of their son."

The solo violinist of a rather famous blind orchestra of Moscow, is a blind boy from the Polygon orphanage. Gregor came to the orphanage among many children who had lost their sight through trachoma. He was a member of the blind school, where he received violin lessons in the process of training the blind to support themselves by music. His ability was recognized by the national commissar of education and he was transferred to a blind school in Moscow, from which he was selected to play in this unique national orchestra. The following interesting little story is told of Gregor:

"There are frequent earthquakes in Armenia. It has always been a strict rule in the orphanages that as soon as a shock is felt every child must leave the stone buildings and remain out of doors until given permission to return. During the series of terrific quakes in 1926, which destroyed the orphanage buildings of Seversky and rendered 80,000 persons homeless in the Leninakan district, without, however, the loss of a single orphan's life, Gregor was seen re-entering the blind school soon after the emergency exit. A teacher followed him. As she entered the quaking building she found Gregor groping along the wall with his Braille typewriter, a special gift from a contributor in America, clutched tightly under his arm. 'Gregor,' said she, 'why do you endanger your life by going into the building? You know it is forbidden.' Gregor, with his face upturned, answered, 'Please forgive me, but I thought surely if one more earthquake came the building would fall, and I could not live without my typewriter.' "

No less impressive are the instances of group leadership. There is the record of the selection of Greek boy scouts from the Zappeon orphanage to demonstrate life-saving



Above: An American teacher gives a first lesson in play to children who did not know even how to smile when they first came under her care. *Below:* A Sunday morning service in the open at Syra, where lessons in friendliness were as much in evidence as religion.

Above: After first lessons in health and cleanliness the pitiful little victims of cruelty and neglect had to be taught tenderness and affection. The next step was to teach them generosity. *Below:* A Scout leader gives a younger boy a piece of friendly advice and a Big Sister takes a smaller one to the dental clinic.

before an audience of 25,000 persons, in the historic stadium of Greece, from among a group of 2,000 representative boy scouts from all parts of Greece. "An impartial observer would find it hard to believe that these young athletes only a few years ago were miserable bundles of bones and hungry weaklings," writes a Greek representative who saw the exhibit.

In the Artisans School of Salonika, twenty out of thirty-two boys who passed the rigid examinations in a recent class were boys from Near East orphanages. None who failed were orphan boys. Of the 160 students enrolled in this school, the director states that the Near East Relief boys stand out above all others for scholarship, appearance and character. "None have had the foundation your boys have had," he states.

Possibly the most challenging instance of individual attainment is that of the artist youth, Hagop Mardirossian. Hagop, in 1927, was entrusted with the task of completing the work of his master, a well known Italian painter, Francisco D'Elanca, in the St. Virgin's Cathedral of Miziara, Tripoli. The work was left incomplete by the Italian master's failing health and he entrusted it to Hagop. Thirty-six of the sixty large paintings in the cathedral are the work of the boy's brush, and at the end of the first year and a half of his work he was granted a certificate of honor by the trustees of the church. Hagop is a boy from Zeytun, in Turkey. In 1921 he found refuge in an orphanage in Marash, whence he was taken with other orphans to the orphanage at Juniyeh, near Beirut. Hagop was exceptionally good in his drawing classes. He attracted the notice of a wandering painter who brought the boy to the attention of D'Elanca. Now, at the age of twenty-two, Hagop apparently is on the road to fame.

Only a representative few of the lengthy line of personal achievements have been offered in this list. If the young

artist, Hagop, could be assigned the task of painting a story of his fellows from the American philanthropic institutions who themselves now serve humanity in the Near East, it would be a lengthy panorama. Perhaps its central motive would be the building of roads—new paths to health and better lives.

PART SEVEN

PERSONNEL AND PERMANENT VALUES

CHAPTER XXII

PERSONNEL

EVERY organization partakes of the character of its founders, its promoters and its personnel. The men who organized the first Relief Committee in 1915 and who continued to direct its affairs were all men of long experience in dealing with the Near East, its needs, conditions and problems. They were men of large affairs with innumerable claims upon their time and leadership, not seeking additional obligations. It was with the greatest reluctance that they came to the conclusion that a relief committee should be organized and that they must assume the responsibility. They were men accustomed to act upon facts and not upon impulse and rumor, and their first vote instructed the officers to secure from the State Department in Washington all the information it possessed upon the conditions in the Near East.

The Committee was able to maintain a steadiness of purpose and an adjustability of program because of the unusual continuity of service on the part of its members. New trustees have been added as the work and interest of the Committee expanded, but the original Committee is still largely represented on the membership of the present board. Death has broken the term of service of such trustees as Cleveland H. Dodge, Samuel T. Dutton, Charles W. Eliot, Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Greer, William I. Haven, Alexander J. Hemphill, Myron T. Herrick, Harry Pratt Judson, Henry B. F. Macfarland, Philip Rhinelander, William Sloane, Walter George Smith, Oscar Straus, William Howard Taft, Stanley White and Talcott Williams.

It was inevitable that such an organization should attempt to build up a service staff in this country and overseas of the same steady devoted characteristics. The missionaries, educators, consular and diplomatic agents, who were the first relief workers overseas set a high standard of character and efficiency. They fully reflected the conservatism and consecration of the organizers and administrators at home.

The organization has been fortunate in the continuity of service of its personnel overseas. Workers who began the operations in Persia, Turkey, Syria and the Russian Caucasus remained in that service down to the period of the armistice expansion in 1919, and many continued on during the years which followed. There are in each of the areas today (1930) directors and supervisors who enlisted in 1919, expecting that the term of service would last for one or two years only, and who are still the strength and mainstay of the overseas service. They became experts in child welfare and child training, in devising ways and means of caring for children under unusual circumstances, and in placing ex-orphans in positions where they might most probably make good in life. Many of these workers, like Miss Emma D. Cushman, a heroine in Konia and a mother to 2,000 children in Corinth; George White, the builder of character at Syra; Miss Maria Jacobsen, who remained alone at Kharput because she refused to leave her children, later becoming the angel of the Birds' Nest in Sidon; Miss Janet McKay and Miss Alice Carr, nurses with a capacity for organization and administration of health conservation programs; Miss Caroline Silliman who applied organizational ability to the education of thousands of children in the Caucasus; Miss Laura MacFetridge, a nurse from the World War in France, who adapted nurses' training for the girls of the orphan schools in the Caucasus; Mrs. Edna Bassett, of the Zappeon, where most American tourists visual-

ized the overseas orphanage program; Lee Myer, among the first enlisted personnel who, after the armistice, demonstrated practical training in vocations for boys, and a long list of others, who have served for shorter periods but not less conspicuously or effectively, have laid the true foundations for the educational, moral and health standards upon which the work of the organization has been continued. Reed Davidson opened the doors of Egypt to 2,500 boys and girls and directed them to citizenship. Edward W. Blatchford in the carpenter shops of Nazareth and the temples of Jerusalem trained boys for work and life.

Among those who have rendered a similar long term and efficient service as directors are Ernest A. Yarrow, in the Near East at the outbreak of the war, remaining until the major task was completed, always closely identified with the Caucasus; Christopher C. Thurber, physically stricken by the scourge of typhus which swept the relief camps, refusing to retire, giving his life for the refugees and orphans in Turkey and Greece; Joseph Beach, who found his first call to duty in relief work in Turkey and later service among the children in Russian Armenia; Charles W. Fowle, beginning as foreign secretary in the national office and afterward going overseas to supervise the Syrian area, and many others who have served briefer periods in positions of major responsibility as managing directors and whose work has been no less important.

A single volume is not large enough to record an adequate appraisal or allow for the expression of proper appreciation for the equally devoted and effective service of a long list of personnel, who gave their splendid talent and with unremitting toil served the people and children of the Near East. They represented the organization with devotion and skill. Their lives are an integral part of this story; their names are recorded as those who have represented their country and its ideals, who have served humanity.

Such trained and consecutive service on the field, formed a continuity of policy and a unity in execution, in the handling of relief funds, in the care and training of the children and especially in the working relationships with the officials of local governments, which was of inestimable value.

The same continuity of service has prevailed in the national office of the Committee in New York and in some of the state organizations. Charles V. Vickrey, from May, 1916, until July, 1929, was the general secretary without cessation. He had as his associates men and women who unitedly shaped and administered the policies of the organization at home and overseas, including Barclay Acheson and Harold C. Jaquith, both associate secretaries in the national office and in turn directors of the operations in the Near East; E. C. Miller, Laird Archer, William E. Doughty and John R. Voris, who, by their devotion and efficiency, personified the Near East Relief in action on the home field. Mrs. Amelia Horton and Mrs. Estelle Malcolm, whose work in the office was most noteworthy, died in the service after many years of faithful labor beginning with the early days of the organization of the Committee.

Among the directors in consecutive service for ten years or more have been Frank Buckalew, J. J. Handsaker, Beth Higgins, E. A. Potter, George E. Silloway, Albert Scott, Ann Tallquist, and Herbert L. Willett. These are but the vanguard of a group of men and women who have effectively and honorably represented the national organization and have been the interpreters, to a wide regional constituency at home, of the needs and opportunities overseas.

The staff of department heads, secretaries, accountants and keepers of records, essential to any effective organization, have shared in the inspiration and devotion to the work. The speakers have told the story by word of mouth and the writers and illustrators have unfolded the con-

ditions through the printed page have extended the horizon of interest and giving of a multitude of newly found friends.

The chairmen and members of the state and local committees who voluntarily gave of their time, prestige and means, have rendered a service, conspicuous by its length, its continuity and its results. The Near East Relief has become inseparably associated with these men and women who have represented the organization locally, and the people have given more largely because of this guarantee of truthfulness and efficiency. The record will be incomplete, for much of the devoted service has been unknown and unheralded. Committees have changed from year to year and only those whose state-wide service has extended over a period of years are cited. They form only a small part of the larger list. Governors, members of Congress, bankers, judges, business and professional men and women, ministers, editors, and a multitude of others, have made the story of Near East Relief a living chapter in a work intercontinental. It is of unusual significance that so many of these volunteer workers and supporters have continued their services for a decade or more and at the end of the emergency work are among those most urgent that the investments made in child life and awakened ideas and ideals be conserved.

After the armistice, when it became possible to send relief workers overseas, high ideals were maintained in the character and qualification of those who were appointed. For the new workers who were recruited, a booklet of general instructions was prepared as a guide for all personnel in their relations to the work and the peoples of the Near East. A few of these "suggestions" are quoted:

> Be particularly careful in your attitude to the local personnel, at least as careful as you would be were they of your own race. It is so easy to grow impatient with them. Many a mistake

arises from their thinking they understand you when they don't. Remember how very strange an American's aims, ideas, and methods are to them, especially when they have only a smattering of his language and understand very little of his culture and orientation. To expect too much is an error of judgment, while to condemn them wholesale is a ghastly self-revelation.

Never make a promise that you have not the intention and ability to carry out. A reputation for reliability and absolute veracity is the thing you should covet most, as it is that which will serve you best.

Always remember that it is nothing to your credit that the Americans have made some headway and have had chances which have not come the way of others. The only real "superiority" is that of service.

Do not lower moral standards or sully the fountains of idealism. The people of the Near East have an amazing capacity for learning by imitation. Their standards are not unworthy. Every American man and woman has a high responsibility in this matter.

Be honest—scrupulously, pedantically honest—in all your dealings with the people of the Near East.

In dealing with the government officials be even more respectful than you would at home. Impoliteness is unpardonable.

Listen to real grievances, and do your best to remove them. To give a hearing will, in itself, save much discontent.

As soon as the work indicated a prolonged period of service, a personnel department was maintained in cooperation with the personnel committee [1] of the board of trustees. A statement was issued setting forth the qualifications which were considered essential for service under the Committee. This folder was placed in the hands of every candidate for appointment and formed the basis of general correspondence and conversations, in addition to the specialized technical qualifications for each particular position. The principles set forth account for the generally

[1] During most of the period from 1919 to 1930 the personnel committee of the board of trustees consisted of William I. Chamberlain, William B. Millar and Talcott Williams.

high character of the men and women who have served in the field and also for the results as they appear in the lives of the boys and girls who have been under their guidance and tuition. There was no reference to religion or creed. Under this declaration of principles, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and members of no religious organization were appointed.

1. *Ideals:*

   Near East Relief is a humanitarian organization. It has saved, and we trust will continue to save, tens of thousands of lives. We are not content, however, with the saving of lives, if by so doing we merely prolong the physical existence of a certain number of human beings; we want not only to save life but to make life, bigger life, better life, for a better day of peace and international good will that is to be.

2. *Underlying Motive:*

   As a rule, no one will be happy or efficient in the employ of Near East Relief who has not faced squarely the fundamental question of life service—that it is to be for others, not for self. Near East Relief gives boundless opportunities for unselfish service, both at home and abroad, and will appeal permanently only to those workers who have clearly come to the conclusion that they are in the world for what they can give and not for what they can get. Even if applicants for positions with us contemplate only limited terms of service in the home field or in the offices, warehouses, orphanages or hospitals of Near East Relief abroad, they should be dominated by this motive in order to render effective service. Anyone who has for a life purpose the achievement of success in terms of dollars or material advancement will not be satisfied with such opportunities as Near East Relief can offer.

3. *Compensation:*

   Near East Relief offers rich rewards beyond all computation, in the opportunity to save the lives of little children. It is this highest form of compensation that has led hundreds of men and women all over the United States to give themselves as

volunteers, unreservedly, in committee and other service, without which volunteer service the achievements of Near East Relief would have been impossible. Some likewise have gone overseas on a similar volunteer basis. The Committee, however, recognizes that most workers, however desirous they may be of giving their time and strength, are not able to do so without some financial compensation. It is the purpose of the Committee to provide enough to cover necessary living expenses, with reasonable consideration of life insurance and other contingencies. Near East Relief work, therefore, will not appeal to anyone whose major consideration is salary. It will appeal strongly to anyone whose major purpose is service.

4. *Personal Deportment:*

Near East Relief does not undertake to dictate a code of personal conduct for anyone outside of its own organization, but before admitting an appointee into the organization, it wishes to make clear that it is expected that personal deportment will be such as to maintain, and if possible, increase the high regard which the people of the Near East have for American citizens and Near East Relief workers. There are many things that under ordinary circumstances may be perfectly proper and right, but which in the Near East are not expedient. There are many subtle temptations, differences in ethical standards, that tend to lower ideals; home restraints are removed, no one is watching, and it is easy to compromise with high purposes or resolves. Anyone who is unable to resist such temptations as America offers should not seek appointment with the Near East Relief in any capacity either in America or in the Near East.

5. To such as are thus willing to pay the price, Near East Relief offers a matchless opportunity for life-saving service that will reach down through the centuries and that will challenge the best that can be given. Every man and woman in Near East Relief employ at home or abroad who is true to his or her task is at the present time directly or indirectly saving the lives of little children who would otherwise perish. These children are to be the future leaders of the new Near East and if we are faithful to our opportunity we, through them,

can shape history and usher in a new era of peace and international good will."

It is not strange that visitors to the orphanage centers overseas have spoken so universally of the high quality and character of the personnel they met.[1]

The special charter from Congress provided for an incorporated national board of trustees with delegated executive authority to a small committee. The present members of the executive committee have served almost continuously since the organization of the first relief committee.[2] There have been only two chairmen, Alexander J. Hemphill and the present leader, Edwin M. Bulkley. The first treasurer, Cleveland H. Dodge, was succeeded by his son, Cleveland E. Dodge. Two other members of the executive committee have died, Samuel T. Dutton and Walter George Smith, and three resigned because of ill health or change of residence away from New York—Abram I. Elkus, Stanley White and Herbert Hoover.

The executive committee has held regular meetings, usually monthly, with an exceptionally high average of attendance during fifteen years. The policies and programs have been fully considered and administration of the affairs at home and overseas carefully followed. Several members

[1] "In general the personnel of the Near East Relief throughout the three areas is of fine quality. It is composed for the most part of young men and women of college education, of high moral standards and excellent and attractive personality. I have had contact over many years with American personnel on foreign fields in government, educational, missionary and philanthropic work and I have never met any that impressed me more favorably. My own impressions formed after four months' contact in the various areas are that the standards and quality of the personnel are quite as high, if not higher, than that of any of the philanthropic, industrial or religious organizations working in Europe during the war or the post-war period."—Dr. Paul Monroe.

[2] Edwin M. Bulkley, chairman; James L. Barton; Cleveland E. Dodge; John H. Finley; Harold A. Hatch; William B. Millar; Henry Morgenthau; George A. Plimpton; Albert Shaw; Charles V. Vickrey; and Barclay Acheson, executive secretary—members of the executive committee July 1, 1930.

have personally observed the relief operations in the various areas of activities in the Near East—Messrs. Bulkley, Finley, Hatch, Millar, Morgenthau, Plimpton and Barton. In addition, at least a third of the trustees of the corporation have visited overseas and inspected some portion of the work. The organization has had a continuity of committee leadership that has assured its success and maintained unbroken confidence in the organization.

Nearly a thousand men and women have served the relief cause overseas during the fifteen years. Twenty-six have died since September, 1915. Four missionaries who died accompanying the refugees in their flight during the dark months of despair, when no word reached the outside world, are added to the honor roll. Many others who did not make the supreme sacrifice have been broken in health as a result of a self-forgetful service that transcended personal consideration. There was no place of duty that did not have its attendant peril. The challenge of the most dangerous tasks, whether in the midst of disease or war, was answered by eager volunteers. No assignment, no matter how remote or perilous, was ever questioned.

The army of Near East Relief workers[1] moved out toward the frontiers of suffering and human need to unacclaimed daily duties and perils. The thin line of workers stretched across vast areas of unknown lands where death was stalking freely in a multitude of strange disguises. Small groups, sometimes only two or three, stood alone, as far as companionship was concerned, against the forces of destruction. Under conditions of war, pestilence and hunger, hundreds of relief workers, and several times

[1] By January, 1920, the Near East Relief had commissioned for service in the Near East 542 new workers, including 36 physicians and surgeons, 76 nurses, 172 orphanage and general relief workers, 52 supply and transport agents, 34 secretaries and accountants, 19 teachers, 16 agriculturists, 15 industrial experts, 20 administrators and the rest mechanics, engineers and a group of army officers assigned to the distribution of the special food grant for Russian Armenia.

After four years' separation an orphanage child is restored to her mother found in a refugee camp.

A boy is apprenticed to the trade of his choice.

A little girl from an orphanage enjoys family life with her foster father, mother and brother.

A boy of sixteen becomes self-supporting.

Above: An orphanage director bids "bon voyage" to a truckload of children for whom she has found good homes in the fertile Black Sea region of Soukhoum. *Below:* Orphan graduates assembled in the Near East Relief Club in Cairo. This club and one in Alexandria provide educational, recreational and social centers for 2,500 boys and girls now settled in Egypt.

their number of native co-operators, quietly and without ostentation, went about their daily tasks. They ministered to the sick and the suffering with food and medicines when they had them. They gave hope and comfort to those in despair. The dead they buried, the sick they segregated and served, and the well they set to work. When they themselves were stricken they were cared for by their associates, and when they died of some dread disease, they were buried as the rest; the lines closed up, and the work went on. Many medals for heroism are worn today for deeds which required far less sustained courage and daring. The relief workers remained on duty because theirs were posts of service. They gave themselves with abandon to the task in hand and demonstrated the moral value of devotion to the cause of alleviating human distress and answering the call of the abandoned child. The service rendered across the years and in every country of the Near East by these men and women can be best characterized by a reverential reference to the greatest son of the Near East—it was "Christ-like."

This brief tribute to those who made the supreme sacrifice in service and thereby entered the honor roll is the expression of remembrance on the part of all those who have shared in this relief enterprise for those that paid the full measure of devotion. During the war the toll among the missionaries was heavy. They bore the brunt of the relief work in the places remote from medical supplies and care. They were in the midst of epidemics without ordinary health protection. After the armistice the health conditions improved; doctors and nurses were attached to each of the larger units. There were few deaths from accident or violence and in general possibly the Committee suffered no more casualties than would be expected under the uncertain conditions surrounding the relief work.

The story of service to the refugees and children, written

in terms of life, began before the actual organization of the special relief committee. Four women, each of whom had enlisted for constructive service in the Near East, fell victims to the forces of destruction during the early months of 1915.

Mrs. Edmund Wilson McDowell was born in Milford Center, Ohio, and was appointed, on March 7, 1887, to west Persia mission. She died April 16, 1915, of typhus during the seige of Urmia when 15,000 refugees crowded into the mission compound, causing an epidemic of typhus.

Mrs. William Ambrose Shedd was born in Boonesboro, Iowa. She was appointed to mission work in Persia in May, 1900. She died on May 17, 1915, in Urmia, of typhus fever.

Mrs. Clarence D. Ussher, from Connecticut, a missionary to Turkey, died July 14, 1915, in Van, Turkey, from typhus, contracted in administering relief in that city prior to the exodus of the Christian population to Russia.

Mrs. George C. Reynolds, from Connecticut, fled from Van with refugees when the city was captured by the Turks and the entire Christian population evacuated to Russian Armenia. She met with an accident on the journey and died at Tiflis, Russia, August 27, 1915.

The honor roll from 1915 to 1918 numbered not only relief workers but staff members of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These men and women, who could have returned to America at the outbreak of hostilities in the Near East, and later, when America severed diplomatic relations, again had an opportunity to leave, elected to stay as agents of relief, and they weighed their lives in the balance with the multitudes of refugees and children.

Francis H. Leslie, working at Urfa, under the American Board, supervisor of industries for refugee self-support, died at Urfa, October 30, 1915.

Dr. Daniel M. B. Thom, of Illinois, was a medical missionary in Mardin, northern Mesopotamia, from 1874. He became so active in relief operations that the Turkish government removed him to Sivas, where he at once identified himself with the work of relief. He contracted typhus and died December 6, 1915. His hospital at Mardin was taken over by the Near East Relief in 1919 and made a center for relief operations.

Dr. Fred D. Shepard, of New York, was a widely known and honored medical missionary at Aintab, in central Turkey, for nearly forty years. He was experienced in dealing with Turkish officials, as well as with the people. With all the resources at his command he turned his hospital into a relief station. Typhus was raging and he contracted the disease and passed away on December 18, 1915.

Dr. Henry H. Atkinson, a medical missionary at Kharput, Turkey, turned over his new missionary hospital and staff to the work of relief as soon as deportations began. He worked as far as he was permitted in the camps where typhus was claiming its victims by the hundreds. He fell a victim to the disease he was fighting on December 25, 1915. His hospital continued as a relief center.

Dr. Samuel Graham Wilson, of Pennsylvania, was appointed to mission work in Persia on December 8, 1879. After a furlough in America he returned to the Near East, going first to Tiflis and then to Tabriz, where he contracted typhoid fever while working among famine sufferers. He died July 2, 1916, at Tabriz, Persia.

Frances C. Gage, of Minnesota, stationed at Marsovan, Turkey, was engaged in missionary and Y. W. C. A. work. After the closing of Anatolia College she remained to carry on relief work and died July 15, 1917.

Charles Arthur Douglas of Ohio was appointed February 4, 1901 to east Persia. He died on February 9, 1918, of typhoid fever contracted in caring for refugees in Teheran.

Lenore R. Schoebel, of Holton, Kansas, was appointed to west Persia mission, 1910, as principal of the girls' school, Urmia, for Moslems and Christians. She contracted typhus, 1915, recovered and continued work with the refugees. After the flight of the majority of Assyrians and Armenians, 1918, she remained in Urmia with the refugees who did not leave, and died of malignant malaria, September 28, 1918.

Lewis Fillmore Esselstyn of Michigan, was appointed to mission work on October 4, 1886, to east Persia. He was a pioneer relief worker and died of typhoid fever during an epidemic in Meshed, May 30, 1918.

Dr. William A. Shedd, called "Dean of American Missionaries in the Near East," was vice consul at the ancient city of Urmia, western Persia, in 1918, when the Moslem Turks and Kurds attacked the district and 70,000 Christian Nestorians were compelled to flee. Dr. Shedd was one of the Americans bringing up the rear and protecting the refugees from attack. He died August 9, 1918, just outside the British lines at Sain Kaleh, Persia, from cholera. Thousands of lives were saved by his heroism. He was a brother-in-law of the Hon. Curtis D. Wilbur, secretary of the navy in President Coolidge's cabinet, and cousin of Vice-President Charles Dawes.

Following the armistice a new army of relief workers entered the Near East and were assigned to the outposts of humanity. Starvation and disease were enemies to be conquered and in the conflict of contending constructive and destructive forces, several relief workers made the supreme sacrifice.

Paul Peltier, of New York, a pioneer Near East Relief worker, died on April 1, 1919, at Eskishehir, Turkey, following a railroad accident, while he was on his way from Constantinople to the interior. Mr. Peltier was among the first group of relief workers commissioned after the armistice.

Dr. Richard Stanley Emrich, of Framingham, Massachusetts, was one of the first Near East Relief workers to go into Syria. The party of which he was a member started out from Constantinople in box cars. During the long, cold trip over the mountains, Dr. Emrich contracted a severe cold, which developed into pneumonia, and he died on May 4, 1919, at Aleppo.

Edith May Winchester, of Fox Chase, Pennsylvania, was one of the first American nurses to enter Armenia after the war. She died from typhus at Erivan on May 17, 1919. She arrived in Erivan during the height of the typhus epidemic when dead Armenian refugees from Turkey were being gathered from the streets at the rate of 190 a day. Miss Winchester was the first

to respond to the call to serve in an emergency typhus ward. She contracted the disease and died, three months after leaving America. In her memory a nurses' training school was opened in the Edith May Winchester Memorial Hospital in Alexandropol, Armenia, later transferred to Erivan. From this school the first nurses registered in the Armenian Republic have graduated. These nurses, mostly trained orphans, have been the nuclei for the governmental public health service.

Jessie B. Wallace, of Lansing, Michigan, refused to abandon her duties in Diarbekr, where need for relief workers at that time was especially pressing. She died on February 28, 1920, at Mardin, following an operation for mastoiditis.

Dr. L. O. Fossum, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was a victim of zeal in caring for sick and starving women and children in Armenia. Dr. Fossum suffered a breakdown from overwork and died in Erivan on October 10, 1920.

Capt. Jay H. Robinson, of Oakland, California, died at the American hospital, Constantinople, from pneumonia on December 10, 1920. During the influx of Russian refugees to Constantinople following the collapse of General Wrangel's forces in the Crimea, Capt. Robinson worked night and day distributing food and caring for the sick and wounded. The illness from which he died was brought on by exposure and overwork while engaged in this service.

Lester James Wright, of Waukesha, Wisconsin, was the first Near East Relief worker to meet a violent death. He was slain by bandits near Aleppo, Syria, October 27, 1922, after having accompanied a convoy of orphans out of Kharput. The children had been moved without mishap to safety and Mr. Wright, with three other relief workers and a native driver, were returning to Aleppo. The bandits opened rifle fire upon the party without warning. Wright was killed instantly. *Enoch R. Applegate,* another relief worker, was slightly wounded.

Mary L. Graffam, of Lewiston, Maine, who had great influence throughout the interior of Turkey, died on August 17, 1921, at Sivas, as the result of an operation. Overwork among the orphans and refugees in that city had so taxed her strength that she failed to rally. Miss Graffam was one of those who remained in the interior throughout the war. As a result of her efforts thousands of Armenians were saved. The Turkish officials would

have liked to deport her but her unusual personality and capacity for dealing with all kinds of people at last won their respect. At the time of the armistice the Turkish caretaker of the former Kaiser's farm at Sivas, in terror of punishment for war-time acts, deeded the property over to her. This property was used as an orphanage until the organization withdrew from Turkey.

Menno Shellenberger, of Hesston, Kansas, contracted smallpox from refugees at Diarbekr, where he died on December 14, 1921. Shellenberger had been transporting supplies by motor truck from Aleppo to Diabekr, where he became ill and passed away.

Annie T. Allen, of Auburndale, Massachusetts, for many years engaged in mission work in Turkey, died from typhus at Sivas on February 2, 1922. From the time that the Turkish Nationalist régime was set up in Angora, she was the representative of the Near East Relief in that city and acted as liaison officer with the government. At the time of her death she had journeyed several hundred miles overland on horseback to Kharput in midwinter to investigate conditions among Armenian and Greek deportees, then on the march to exile, and to adjust difficulties between relief workers and the local government in the city of Kharput. The weather was bitterly cold and traveling difficult. She contracted typhus from the refugees she was attempting to help.

George St. John Williams, of Foxburg, Pennsylvania, died from pneumonia at Marsovan, Turkey, on December 10, 1922. Mr. Williams was in charge of the Near East Relief unit at Marsovan at the time that the orphans from the interior were being evacuated by way of Samsun and the Black Sea. In meeting each column as it arrived in the city on the long trip overland to the coast, Williams contracted a heavy cold. He continued at his work and pneumonia developed. A veteran of the A. E. F., his body was sent to the United States and buried with full military honors in Arlington Cemetery.

Dr. Robert E. Willson, of Morning Sun, Iowa, died on February 18, 1923, of influenza and exhaustion brought on by the pressure of work among 4,000 refugees at Mersina, Turkey. Dr. Willson had been engaged previously in missionary work in Cilicia for a number of years.

Mrs. Lindon S. Crawford, of Hartford, Connecticut, who with her husband had been a missionary at Trebizond, Asia Minor, since 1879, died of typhus in that city in April, 1923. Mrs. Crawford had been in charge of work for the Near East Relief in Trebizond for several months prior to her death. She contracted the disease from which she died while helping Greek and Armenian refugees from the interior of Turkey who were awaiting transportation to Greece and other regions of safety.

Henry Flint, of Syracuse, New York, died in Constantinople on May 22, 1923, from typhus. He had been serving as cashier for the American Board in Constantinople when the urgent need for additional workers among the thousands of Greek refugees stranded in barracks and camps about the city prompted him to volunteer his services. The conditions were such that five Americans contracted the dreaded disease, including a doctor and two nurses. Mr. Flint, working to stem the tide of death among the refugees, was swept away himself.

David M. Hoagland, of Rockford, Illinois, died on the island of Syra, Greece, March 19, 1928. Mr. Hoagland entered the service of Near East Relief in January, 1919. He first served in Derindje at the supply headquarters of the organization, then in the Russian Caucasus. His final work was in Syra, in charge of the vocational training school, serving 2,000 children in many trades. The graduates have become successful artisans and citizens. He spent nine years in reconstructive work in the Near East.

Christopher Carson Thurber, of Norwich, Connecticut, died in Athens, Greece, May 31, 1930. He succeeded Miss Graffam as director in Sivas, Turkey, where he contracted typhus working for the refugees from the Pontus. He left Sivas with the orphans in 1923. He arrived in Constantinople, crowded with Greek refugees, with a raging epidemic of typhus in Selimieh Barracks. He volunteered to live there and direct the relief efforts to stop the scourge. He returned to America and became one of the most effective speakers for the organization. In 1926 he returned to the Near East and began the establishment of working boys' homes in Athens. He was director of the relief activies in Greece at the time of his death. The Greek government accorded him a national burial with the rites of a retired general. No greater tribute has ever been paid a foreigner by Greece than that accorded Mr. Thurber as a representative of the Near East Relief.

CHAPTER XXIII

PERMANENT VALUES

THE story of the children, their care, training and adjustment into normal life, and the feeding and rehabilitation of the adult refugees records the primary objective of the relief work. But many permanent values have emerged during these fifteen years as by-products of the constructive process of saving life and building character. The helpful presence of Americans in every country in the Near East and the nation-wide interest at home in the peoples of these countries, have accumulative effects and abiding results. Some of them lie in the realm of the physical, as, for example, improvements in agriculture; but others, like the acceptance of modern and western ideals of child welfare social and health betterment, a better spirit and understanding between the east and the west and a new conception of the real spirit of America, are equally important and perhaps more far reaching in their significance. These changes, taking place in the conservative and tradition-bound east, cannot be looked upon as temporary, for already they have become a part of the thinking and the life of the people themselves.

The Committee was formed as a temporary organization to meet a crisis. For years it raised emergency funds, organized workers overseas and did everything within its power to meet the pressing needs. Its activities were confined to refugee camps and work among widows and children who were without any other means of support. When the Committee realized there were more than 100,000 un-

attached children needing aid and that there was no escape from this responsibility, the emergency expanded and enlarged.

In 1919 the Committee began to realize the moral and social assets in the children whom it was supporting and training and who were to remain in the country, and proceeded to develop in the children themselves values that would persist after the relief work ceased. In so far as it has succeeded in this achievement, there will remain in every country real values of permanent worth. These efforts on the part of the relief personnel are beginning to bear fruit, as indicated in a preceding chapter. A study of the methods used in training and supervision is also of importance. The final record will be written across coming decades in the Near East and in terms of human progress.

Physical values are reckoned among the least important, but possibly the most obvious to the casual observer. It is, however, worthy of record that there remain in all the countries where the Committee has operated hundreds of miles of substantially made roads and well-paved streets; water courses opened for irrigation purposes and thousands of acres of arable land reclaimed; permanent buildings erected; old buildings repaired; and all accomplished by refugee labor that gave work in return for food. New industries have been introduced and established. A new agriculture has been demonstrated and new breeds in cattle and poultry have been imported. Better seeds of corn, cotton, wheat and other grains and vegetables have been planted and are now coming into common use, producing fruit after their kind. Modern tractors and other improved agricultural machinery have been introduced and their economic value demonstrated to the local farmers. These are but a few of the many physical improvements which have taken root and are being promoted by the peasantry and backed by the

governments. The presence in those countries of thousands of youths, whose education has made them familiar with these modern ideas and innovations, gives a degree of assurance that the new methods of physical and economic improvement will find ready proponents and users.[1]

The working classes suffered most from the tragedy of the war—the cultivators of the soil, the merchants and the artisans. This was true everywhere. They became the refugees who were assembled in camps, and their children were left in destitution. No one has ventured to estimate the economic value of a human life in the Near East. Economists elsewhere put a financial valuation upon the life of an average workman based upon his earning capacity. The law fixes a certain monetary compensation for a life taken by accident. We are not concerned here with the estimated evaluation of a life, but we are deeply interested in the real worth of men, women and children to themselves, to their families, to society and to the state.

There is no census of the number of lives that have been saved by the relief measures, but by a conservative estimate from voluminous reports and by the testimony of the refugees themselves, not less than 1,000,000 people are living today who would have perished, had not this Committee acted promptly and continued persistently in its work of feeding, clothing, sheltering and healing. A large majority of those who were saved were women and children. Vast numbers have been taken from destitution and restored to the land, where permanent homes have been re-established and the occupants have become constructive

[1] "The Near East Relief has taught its children trades and vocations and has taught them how to be independent. This will be of real value in the economic recovery of the districts in which they are living. Furthermore, a large number of the children have received knowledge in regard to agriculture and other things of that sort, far superior to the methods that have been used in the past in the Near East countries. There is every reason to believe that economic improvements and progress will result by this means."—CLEVELAND E. DODGE.

members of society. This has been done upon a wide scale in Iraq, in Persia, in Syria, in the Caucasus and in Greece.[1]

The loss of life among the native populations of the Near East from famine, wars, disease and racial antipathies was enormous. This loss has been put as high as fifty per cent of the pre-war population of some countries and among the Armenians of Turkey it was much higher. The countries could ill afford to spare the remnant which the Near East Relief was able to salvage and restore in a measure to normal life, where they have become a vital asset.

In eastern countries the value of the child is not appraised in the same terms as in the west. Child mortality is startling; while the blind, the dumb and the physically defective receive comparatively little attention. All Americans who have lived in these countries know these facts. The Near East has never put special emphasis upon child welfare work. While there has always existed among all classes of people a real love for one's offspring, there was almost an absence of native community effort to save and conserve child life in general. The child simply grew up in the home and in the community, and, if for any cause he became ill or died, it was regarded as the will of God. Fatalism had much to do with this attitude. Dumb, blind children and those afflicted with permanent diseases were regarded as a calamity or a curse from which there was no escape except in death. Among some of the Christian peoples, institutions for the care of handicapped children were established and supported privately in the name of the church.[2]

[1] "Armenians are sincerely grateful to us, since it is no exaggeration to say that they would have disappeared as a nation had it not been for the splendid help given them by the Near East Relief and the American Food Administration."—"Some Facts About Armenia," by Benjamin Burges Moore, chief of Tiflis party, Russian field mission, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, in Current History, June, 1920.

[2] "Every time that an American concluded to help the Near East Relief orphans he himself was as much benefitted by his action as the child who was saved through his contributions. I believe from my own

The representatives of the relief organization gave children preferential treatment over adults. No discrimination was made as to race, religion or physical condition. Orphanage homes were established, hospitals were opened; American and local personnel devoted themselves to their care and training.

Defectives were segregated and given special treatment. The blind not only were taught trades, but were taught to read and write and to play games. The deaf were instructed to understand and express themselves and to have a part in the life of the child community.

The orphanages in all countries have interested the public and the government officials by their size and the number of children, and by the demonstration of western methods of organization and child care. Their influence has been widespread. The kindly attention to parentless children has won common approval. There has been a growing appreciation of the value of proper child care in the community. Children salvaged from the wreckage of the war not only are living today but are becoming established in all areas in homes of their own, equipped to make substantial contributions to the economic and social life in each of the Near East countries.[1]

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observations in these countries that the Near East Relief was teaching the same lesson abroad as our social service activities were spreading at home."—HENRY MORGENTHAU.

[1] "Wrapped up in this work of relief, I feel that there is something which may prove to be of even greater significance than the saving of physical life. The boys and girls who have been our wards in these orphanages are a part of the Near East of the coming generation, perhaps a decisive part, as far as the higher life of this chaotic area of the world is concerned. To have trained thousands of children under the influence of devoted Christian workers and then to have sent them back as young people into the towns and cities with something of that spirit of service which was responsible for their own salvation, cannot fail to have a vital and far-reaching effect in building a new Near East.

"It is my sober judgment that future historians, writing of the day when in the Near East wars and rumors of wars filled the air, when governments rose and fell, when the economic interests of great powers

Measures have been adopted already by the governments of Russia, Turkey, Greece and elsewhere for perpetuating and extending child welfare work into towns and rural communities. The child is assuming a new place in the social thinking of all the different races in the Near East, especially among the Persians, Armenians, Russians, Turks, Greeks and Syrians. "Child welfare" has become an expression conveying a new idea, not only in thinking, but in the construction of educational and social programs. The people of the Near East have been given an ocular demonstration of child care and child protection which has made a profound impression. The child has attained a new and important position in the community.

Disease, in all the east once regarded as a scourge of God, has lost much of its former terror. Native doctors and thoughtful leaders have seen the most severe epidemics attacked and mastered by medicine, sanitation and organization. The people have learned that diseases cannot be combated by incantation or charms, but that they can be cured by doctors and nurses. Demonstrations of this have been frequent and widespread. Cholera, typhus, typhoid, smallpox, malaria, intestinal parasites, trachoma, favus, scabies and many other diseases peculiar to the East, have yielded to the systematic, scientific and persistent effort of the doctors, nurses and relief workers. Areas in Greece, Turkey and other places that had become uninhabitable by malaria have been made safe dwelling places. Productive areas that had been abandoned because of malignant malaria have been reclaimed under a concerted attack upon the mosquitoes, the draining of swamps, the clearing up of irrigation ditches and the closing of water receptacles. Local officials and doctors are becoming aware of the fact that

struggled for mastery, will declare that one of the most epoch-making events of all was the beneficent work carried on by the Near East Relief in our behalf."—Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

this and other sources are capable of control and eradication.

Smallpox and typhoid have been stamped out and kept out of orphanages and relief camps. Scabies has been quickly cured and the dread trachoma has been shown to be amenable to treatment. Tuberculosis, so universally prevalent and so fatal to hundreds of thousands, has been robbed of some of its terror. The Near East Relief in Persia, Syria, Russia and Greece has established, for its own children, sanitaria for those who were tainted by this disease and has demonstrated that it can be cured, and the children who formerly would have been left to die have become strong and healthy. Governments and local organizations have observed and co-operated with the relief organization in the work and are coming to a fuller realization of the value of preventive measures, as well as the need for more sanitaria.

The idea of combating preventable and curable diseases is taking root throughout the entire Near East. In the orphanages tens of thousands of children were taught to use separate towels and to avoid such contacts as were calculated to communicate disease. They have gone out with this knowledge and cannot fail to be the agents and advocates of the idea. People are learning that disease is one of the heaviest drains upon the productive economic resources of a country. The men, women and children who have been in the relief organization in its struggles against uncleanliness, common diseases and plagues of the countries, are available to continue the health program.[1]

The people of the Near East are irrevocably religious.

[1] "The hospital work of the organization in Turkey, Armenia, Greece, Syria, Palestine and other parts of the Near East will stand out for the immediate and capable method in which they met dire emergencies. In southern Russia medical representatives of the Near East Relief were the first to provide disease-preventing serums after the Russian revolution had stripped the country bare of every scientific provision for health."—Senator Henry J. Allen.

Births, marriages and deaths were recorded only in religious archives. An individual's standing before a court and with the government was conditioned by religion, which occupied a large place in all social and political relations.

Religions were hedged about by regulations, traditions and conditions. The divisions separating religions one from the other were high, old and sacred. Religion was a question of race as well as creed: Turks were Mohammedan; Greeks and Armenians were Christian.

When the tragedy of 1914 and 1915 broke over the Near East, the missionaries, who had been teaching a religion of life, threw themselves, without consideration for personal comfort or safety, into the work of relief. When urged to leave the country, they stayed on to serve the suffering and heal the sick.

The people of America, practicing the precepts of Christianity, gave vast sums of money and distributed enormous quantities of food. This work continued, first for general relief and then for child nurture and training, not for months only but for fifteen years. Hundreds of workers have mingled with the people; some have died in the service. It was clearly evident that these Americans were not doing the work for money or for honor, and surely not for pleasure. There was no ulterior motive evident. They treated the refugees with human kindness and the children with parental care.[1]

These strange doctrines have been practiced among the refugees and the children until the people have seen a conception of religion that is not an organization or a political body, or a creed or tradition, but a way of life. The Moslems

[1] "Undoubtedly a splendid legacy of permanent value is the religious. This will be felt, one may suggest, in an element of awakening life to the historic churches to which these orphans belong. It will also be felt in the religious life of the countries themselves. The conception of a religion that works by love and purifies the heart will cast its spell on art and education, on politics and government, on trade and jurisprudence, as well as on the churches."—Rev. Dr. James I. Vance.

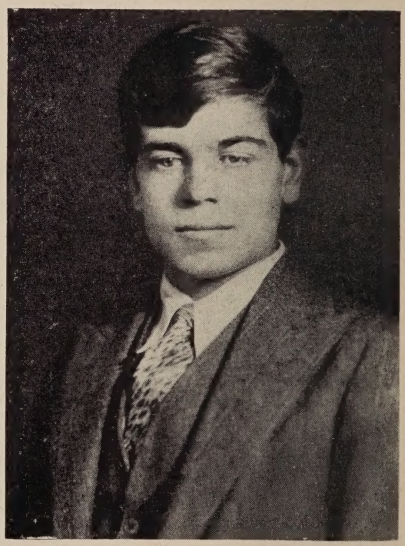
have seen it and wondered. The leaders in the eastern churches have seen it and realized the value of translating religion into conduct. Church leaders and ecclesiastics have felt the power of these practical ideals and have come forward to co-operate with the orphanage directors in training the orphans in the new conceptions of the religious life. Religious education material, used in the orphanage schools, they have appropriated for their own youth.

Gradually but surely the east has begun to grasp the conception of a religion that is not sectarian, that exists in the hearts of men and women and speaks through their lives, that makes society safe and enjoyable, that contributes to health, happiness, peace and prosperity. Some of the eastern church leaders, who have co-operated in the relief and orphanage work, are now asking that help be given them to carry the conceptions of practical religion into their communities and to their young people.

The children, numerous and widely scattered, who have been trained in these ideals, are living witnesses of religion as service to one's fellow men. This influence will penetrate as leaven into the thinking of all the countries.

Some of the relief workers have been persons of financial independence, while all have been men and women of refinement and education. None of the workers have received salaries in excess of a moderate living. The missionaries received nothing in addition to their mission salaries for their relief work. This fact has been noted in all the regions where the relief work has been carried on. The people have seen these educated, refined men and women from America enter voluntarily into infected regions where people were dying and devote themselves, with untiring energy, to alleviating the insanitary conditions. They have seen orphanage workers with their own hands washing away dirt, searching for vermin, anointing sores of newly arrived helpless little children. They have seen many of them stricken with some

Above: The first health wagon. It visited villages where orphans were outplaced, treating both children and adults. This service has been expanded with healthmobiles covering several Caucasian areas and refugee settlements in Syria. *Below:* Home of a boy graduate of an orphan school erected by his own hands in a Macedonian village. According to ideals instilled in the orphanage, the little house is spotlessly clean and well ventilated.



Above: The young head man of an Armenian village; a girl leader of the village Woman's Club. *Below:* A girl adopted by an American woman, absolutely without training at the age of ten, who at nineteen has just been graduated with honor from high school. She is a talented singer. And a boy, trained in the Blind School in Athens, now studying on scholarship in the Perkins Institute, Boston, in order to go back and teach the much neglected blind of the Near East. American-trained orphan children are making good all over the world.

dread disease, receiving the same treatment that the people of the country received. They have seen not a few die among the people they came to serve, and their bodies buried in the same soil with thousands of others. They have seen those who recovered take up their tasks and carry on as before.

Workers, in the midst of suffering, disease and death, have gone cheerfully about their tasks, doing everything in their power to make conditions for others better and to save life, never considering personal hardship, but rather rejoicing in the opportunity to render service. The possibility of there being happiness in a service that called for the sacrifice of personal comforts and even of safety to life, came as a revelation to those who have had a wholly different outlook on life. They found it difficult to explain why the people of America have given and continued to give with such generous abundance to provide food for those whom they never knew and to support and educate orphans whom they would never see. There was possibly a secret of life which they had not as yet discovered.[1]

These people have seen the same spirit evident among the children trained in the orphanage. When the school for nurses was first opened in the Caucasus, officials were skeptical as to the willingness of the graduates to give themselves to public health work in remote villages. When the first graduating class was being examined the question was asked as to where the girls preferred to work—in the cities or in the rural villages. It was expected that they would choose the more comfortable and attractive city appointments. Without exception, each one chose service in the villages,

[1] "The Near East Relief undertaking is the best single example with which I am familiar of a vast, complex and thorough ministry of practical helpfulness. There have been many other undertakings in history involving as large numbers of people in desperate need, but I can think of no case where the effort has been continued through such a long period and maintained with such a high standard of efficiency."—Dr. John R. Mott, chairman International Missionary Council.

saying they felt they could be of greater service there than in the cities. They were sent to the villages, and under government direction they have done a notable work where previously medical aid had been absent and was greatly needed. Of the class of twenty-three that graduated in 1929, all of them selected rural work as "the place where they were most needed and where they thought they could do the most good."

The governments in the Near East are committed to modern methods in agriculture and are endeavoring to convince the peasantry. It is a slow process, since they must struggle against age-old tradition and a native repugnance to change. Probably the peasant farmers in the Near East are the most conservative class of people found anywhere. They can be persuaded to change only by a demonstration of the material gain to be derived from it.

In the Caucasus, as well as in Greece and Syria, there has been for some ten years a practical application of modern and western methods of agriculture, with demonstrations of its value as shown in better crops, at little or no increase in costs. The governments of Russia and Greece are convinced of the importance of extending the new agriculture to the rural communities and are heartily co-operating to make use of trained ex-orphans for that purpose. They are ordering modern farm machinery and teaching the local farmers to use it. The orphans are employed as demonstrators in Russia and in Macedonia and some of them are operating farms of their own.

Other forms of modern industry have been taught the children in the orphanages which will add materially to the coming of a new industrial and agricultural day which seems to be dawning in all those countries.[1]

[1] "The service that has been given to the people by the Near East Relief will always live in their memories and will be passed down to their posterity."—FRANK MORRISON, secretary, American Federation of Labor.

The Near East Relief has refused to recognize religion or race as a determining factor in giving help. In relief camps races and religions mingled. In the orphanages children of different races and religions ate, slept, worked and played together. They came to recognize and appreciate as friends those whose religion was different from their own. It is impossible to predict what the effect of this treatment will be upon the future of the Near East, but one thing is certain: all races and religions have come to look upon the organization and America as a friend, irrespective of creed or race.[1]

The Near Eastern countries knew little about America; their contacts, political and commercial, had been chiefly with Europe. Whatever was known about America had been learned through the various American educational institutions and missionary organizations which had been established in Persia, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and the Balkans. These limited contacts had created a generally favorable impression of America. Relations with Europe had been tempered with political ambition and commercial exploitation and there was underneath it all fear of aggression and suspicion of ulterior motives, whereas the United States had never been suspected of seeking spheres of influence or of territorial or political ambition.

All this was greatly to the advantage of the Committee, when it began its operations in 1915. It was naturally assumed that relief work was to be equally free from political intrigue. Because of the good name already held for Americans, hindrances were not placed in the way and the doors were opened, even under war conditions, for reaching and aiding the needy. This favorable attitude facilitated the

[1] "To those countries which received the benefits of Near East Relief has come the great gift of a sense of gratitude. It would seem as if that might become a lasting feature in their character. The people have discovered that in the far west are hearts of pity and helpfulness. To them must come the willingness to do as they have been done by, and the spirit to carry their good fortune and good news to their neighbors." —Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts.

transfer of money, the travel of American agents and later the transportation of supplies and the free use of warehouses, railroads and other public facilities. The reputation of Americans in the Near East was such, in 1915, that co-operation with the Committee and its representatives was assured.

In 1919, when relief workers entered the Near East in large numbers, bringing with them millions of dollars worth of supplies, an arresting emphasis was put upon the spirit of disinterested service. These Americans did not remain at the ports and places of safety and ease; they crossed the plague-and-pestilence-cursed areas, planted hospitals, opened orphanage homes for the unattached children and set up an organization that extended from the Adriatic Sea to the Caspian and from the Caucasus to Cairo, with the sole purpose of salvaging life.[1]

The officials and citizens of all the Near East countries have seen the representatives of the United States government intimately and actively co-operating with all the relief operations. Ambassadors Morgenthau, Phillips and Elkus; Admiral Bristol at Constantinople; Ministers Laughlin and Skinner in Greece; Ministers Howell and Gunther in Egypt; Consul Smith in the Caucasus; Consul Jackson in Syria and Consul Paddock of Persia; Consul Ravndal in Constantinople, and United States officials in all areas of activity, served on local administrative committees or fostered the work. The people saw it all and, naturally and inevitably, came to the conclusion that the United States was motivated by a humanitarian spirit. This opinion was strengthened by the refusal of the United States to take the mandate for Armenia or Turkey, con-

[1] "The mere friendly contact and acquaintance of Americans with the various countries and peoples of the Near East is itself of inestimable worth for future relationships in matters of international and racial culture, moral, spiritual and religious values, industrial development of the East, and commercial exchange."—Dr. R. R. Reeder.

firming the aims of America as neither political nor territorial, but purely friendly.

More than 132,000 boys and girls have gone out from the American orphanage schools, chiefly into the life of the Near East. These, for the most part, are better trained than are the children of their own generation in those countries. Most of them come from strong sturdy stock, their parents having succumbed in the tragedy of the Great War. Some of them already are giving evidence of capacity for leadership in business and in society. Their love for and confidence in America is unbounded. An entire book might be filled with the expressions of appreciation from the children within the orphanages and from those who have taken their places in practical life. With one refrain they proclaim their belief that it was America that gave them life and fitted them to make their way in the world. Among the countries of the Near East, the opinion prevails that America is the most benevolent of the nations, that the soul of America is humane and Christian, quick to respond to the call of human distress and unsparing in its efforts to give aid. This opinion has become fixed in all the countries of the Near East and can be changed only by America herself.[1]

It is impossible to state with any assurance what influences from the work of Near East Relief are the most fundamental and will be the most permanent. The friendly relations established with the Albanian, Bulgarian, Egyptian, French, Greek, Iraqian, Persian, Russian and Turkish governments, stand out as an achievement of substantial merit.

[1] "Those beyond the ocean will review with exultant joy the work of Christian love which unfolded before them such a vast field of charity. We on this side feel true admiration and express sincere gratitude, recollecting what a great kindness has our Orient been enjoying during the most tragic period of its history. Christian love has never dried up throughout the ages; neither has it ever ceased yielding its fruit in due time, but what Christian America also accomplished in this case in our midst surpasses all precedence in extent, endurance and results."—MELETIOS, Greek Patriarch of Alexandria.

The overseas representatives, the executives from the national office, and the various commissions and delegations which have been overseas, in their contacts with the officials of all the governments, have been ambassadors of good will. All the governments have treated representatives of the organization almost as if they were accredited diplomats. Relief workers have worked directly with the highest governmental officials. Decorations seldom bestowed upon foreigners have been awarded representatives of the organization. The Kings of Greece and Bulgaria and the highest officials of other governments have expressed to them in person their appreciation of the services rendered their nationals. Favors have been granted to aid the work which could hardly have been expected.[1]

Representatives of the committee have been appointed to serve upon local commissions to aid the governments in meeting situations in which the organization was interested and upon which its representatives were known to be especially informed. In Syria, when the French government was faced with a serious refugee situation, the director in Syria was asked by the French High Commission of Syria to serve on the Refugee Settlement Committee.

The director of the Athens-Constantinople area was appointed technical adviser to the Exchange of Populations Commission and was chairman of a commission, comprised of Greek Red Cross and Turkish Red Crescent members, to effect the return of Greek civil prisoners from Turkey to

[1] "The respect which is felt throughout Turkey for the impartiality and disinterestedness of Near East Relief is its great strength—and it would be the same were the United States to undertake the work on a larger scale. After the fighting around Marash, the French asked Admiral Bristol to care for 140 French wounded in Marash. Admiral Bristol turned the work over to Near East Relief, which transported supplies and nurses to the ground under a guard furnished by the Turkish Nationalists, who were fighting the French. The Sultan of Turkey turned over tons of grain for distribution as Near East Relief might think fit, so great was his confidence in the impartiality of American relief work."—Report by DAVIS G. ARNOLD, director in Constantinople, 1919.

Greece. Near East Relief was asked to co-operate with the League of Nations in securing a chairman for the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, and a member of its own executive committee was appointed.

Friendly co-operating relations exist in Syria, between the representatives of the Near East Relief and the officials of the government of France. The Syrian, Arabic and Armenian people are confident of American interest in their developing future, and local committees work with the various departments of relief in health, recreation, refugee settlement and relationships with racial groups.

Persia, never hostile, became sympathetically co-operative when the officials comprehended the purpose of relief and saw the sacrifice Americans were making for the aid of Persian subjects. Here, too, the relief had the prestige of two generations of missionary work and the co-operation of the missionaries in carrying on the work of relief. The commission of Americans sent to Persia in 1918, under the leadership of Dr. Henry Pratt Judson, president of Chicago University, was received by the Shah and his court as a demonstration of the friendly spirit and purpose of America to help the government in its baffling task of restoring order and providing for its vast dependent populations.[1]

In the Russian Caucasus, prior to the fall of the republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, the governments were most friendly. When the Moscow Soviet government first took over the Caucasus, the continuation of any foreign work or workers within the country was doubtful. After a brief period, the situation changed as the new government

[1] "Daily we hear: 'Who are these people who have saved our lives? Americans, do you say? They are angels from heaven. They have brought back our souls from death. They don't know who we are. Their religion must be true, for they show us love by their acts.' And again: 'God bless with long life and happiness those Americans who so far away have not seen our desperate condition, but have heard of it only by the hearing of the ear and yet have sent us help and life.'"—From a report from Persia, 1918.

realized that, while the workers were foreigners and the support and supplies came from America, the aid was being given to the citizens of Russia, as the official mandate given to the Committee in 1923 clearly demonstrates. The department of state doubted that the government of Russia would make many fundamental concessions to an American organization. For seven years the work of the Committee has continued on the most friendly terms with the Moscow government.

The relations with the government of Greece, since the relief operations began, following the Smyrna disaster, have been most intimate and friendly. Every consideration has been given to the representatives of the organization and every facility granted to the conduct of the work. The attitude of the highest Greek officials, from the first days under Col. Plastiras, to the present under Prime Minister Venizelos and President Zaimis, has been most cordial. Travelers report that even the petty officials go out of their way to show special favor to those who come from the country that sent relief workers and supplies to their countrymen.

The best evidence of the present friendly attitude of the Turkish government comes from the fact that after most of the relief work in Turkey was finished, the government twice officially asked the representative of the Near East Relief to act as mediator in their difficulties with the Greek government—once when the question of exchange of populations was involved, and once when the return of Greek civil prisoners was in question.

Relations with the government of Egypt were established by the transfer to Cairo and Alexandria of nearly 2,500 Armenian orphans from Greece. A representative of the Near East Relief will find a cordial reception from Egyptian officials because of their knowledge of its ideas and principles learned through observing its work for boys

and girls. The attitude toward America is one of friendliness.

In Palestine the high commissioners have co-operated in every way possible. When the organization had orphanages, every consideration was given to the work. Requests have been insistent for the Committee to extend its rural program to Arab villages.

While operations in Albania and Bulgaria have been incidental, these countries have been intelligent and close observers and have repeatedly urged that social, health and agricultural demonstrations, so successfully carried on for their close neighbor, Greece, be made in their respective kingdoms. Representatives of the Near East Relief,[1] upon a visit to those countries in 1929, were urgently invited by government officials to undertake constructive educational and rural work in their countries.

It is no overstatement to say that fifteen years of intensive operations in the countries of the Near East have left them all in an attitude of appreciative friendliness toward the administrators and workers, and especially for the country that appointed and supported them.[2]

We have recorded the attitude of the governments in the Near East, but what is of equal significance is the feeling of the people as a whole. The people en masse, those who have

[1] Harold C. Jaquith, foreign director, and Edward C. Miller, assistant treasurer.

[2] "America declined to enter the League of Nations or to take a mandate for Armenia, but, through the Near East Relief, we became the Good Samaritans of all the Near East and, at a great sacrifice, salvaged a generation of children for the religious, social, moral, industrial, intellectual and economic rehabilitation of that entire war-and-feud cursed country.

"What timid provincial politicians rejected, the benevolent Christian forces of America adopted and have thereby won for America and for Americans, among all the suspicious nations of the Near East, a place of genuine confidence and even of deep affection.

"The Near East Relief has shown to the world the true heart of Americans and the real spirit of Christianity."—S. Parkes Cadman, president Federal Council of Churches of America.

received help, those who have co-operated in the relief work, and those other citizens who have been merely observers, have an affection for America and the people who have meant so much to them in their time of helplessness and distress. An American going into the Near East today is received and treated warmly. As long as adult refugees remember the hand that gave them food when they were perishing and clothing when they were dying of exposure, and as long as in those countries there are children, growing into manhood and womanhood, who were rescued and prepared for life in the orphanages of the Near East Relief, the name "America" will be held in respect and affection.[1]

Through the operations of the relief organization all the people of our country have, in the long-continued effort, respected each other, worked together as a single body, have been interested in the same things in the same ways, have made sacrifices together, that the people and children of the Near East might live. The peoples of America, during a decade or more, have joined forces in a continuous campaign of mercy and good works. By serving humanity together they have cemented and demonstrated brotherhood and good will. The Near East Relief has been a unifying force in this country, placing community, religious, racial co-operation upon the lofty plain of disinterested philanthropy.[2]

[1] "The child feeding work has added immeasurably to the prestige of the United States of America with the people of the Caucasus. It is planting the seeds of certain American ideals and standards in the Near East which may later germinate into healthy growth with general benefit to the country at large. The appreciation of the people is almost ostentatious even at the present time, but the real gratitude for this donation can only become fully expressed at that later date when the present child generation will form the manhood and womanhood of these newly established republics."—Report of Col. William H. Haskell.

[2] "There seem to be possible permanent values from Near East Relief more far reaching than the very great and generally recognized values of saving life, educating and directing the welfare of hundreds of thousands of temporarily dependent people, and beginning the foundations of more permanent industries by means of which these people may carry on. Those

A deep and abiding interest in the children of the Near East has been established in the minds of the children of America. Boys and girls in thousands of public schools and Sunday schools have had their sympathies stirred to action, and contributions of money and milk have been given generously. The countries of the Near East are more than geographic localities—they are places of real meaning, with children in need living there. A new and profound interest was evidenced in the children and the countries where they live, in the customs of the people and in the governments. To thousands of children in America, the Near East has come to have a new historical, geographical and human friendly significance which will not be soon forgotten.[1]

The message of the Golden Rule was an integral part of the purposes that motivated all the relief activities. The designation of a special Sunday each year, at which time attention would be focused on the conditions and the needs of the people of the Near East, was another method of uniting the interest and services of a multitude of people from every section of the country. The continuation of the observance of Golden Rule Sunday is evidence of an abiding value in its capacity to arouse the people to respond to unselfish philanthropy.

All the gain and advantage of the years of giving does not belong to the people or the countries that received. Our

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achievements would be justification of the efforts put forth. By looking at Near East needs we have learned to stand and look and work together, to face great problems instead of giving the too frequent emphasis to small differences we may have. It should have taught us much to have learned to get into such a world movement with all kinds of high minded and useful people. It seems not too much to hope that one of the largest results of the whole gigantic business may be a lasting and growing cooperation in doing good by all sorts of people regardless of their particular Christian labels."—Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman of the Near East Survey Committee.

[1] "I regard the enterprise of the Near East Relief as an object lesson for the whole world in international friendliness."—Mrs. William A. Montgomery.

own knowledge and understanding have been enlarged and our sympathies have been awakened for peoples of whose very existence many were ignorant fifteen years ago. We shall all be better neighbors to the Near East and the people who dwell there because we have had a share in this work.[1]

The emergency operations of the Near East Relief are drawing to a close but the good that has been done will live in changed lives, in improved physical and economic conditions, in loftier ideals of morality, in new and friendly human relationships, in a growing consciousness of international good will, in a loftier conception of human brotherhood and in released forces operating for a better world. As the years pass the emergency work accomplished will recede into the caverns of memory, while its by-products will emerge as of the greatest permanent and commanding significance.[2]

[1] "The work of the Near East Relief has developed in our people a spirit of unselfish service for unfortunate men and women living in remote areas to whom life has brought numerous and terrible trials. When the last history shall be written of the humanitarian service of our country, I firmly believe the Near East Relief will stand high on the honor roll of those who loved and served their fellowmen."—Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker.

[2] "Never since the Civil War has the country been so sympathetically unified in a particular enterprise of Christian fellowship. I do not forget, of course, Red Cross campaigns, but still I am sure that the special appeal of the Near East Relief transcended anything in the way of a nationalizing movement of charity and brotherhood that we have ever known."—Dr. Albert Shaw.

CHAPTER XXIV

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

The Near East of the present bears little resemblance to the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan conflicts of the past. A decade and a half have wrought many fundamental changes. The peoples have acquired a consciousness of strength, independence and assurance. The misfortunes of yesterday have been transformed into the potentialities of today. From the sufferings and hardships of the individuals, nations have acquired new racial solidarity and the possibility of internal oppression of minorities has practically vanished. The governments have learned the value of friendly intercourse with their neighbors and look askance at the proffers of uncertain interest and protection from the greater European powers. The past is rapidly being forgotten, for the present is pressing for consideration and attention. Democracy as an idea is permeating the thinking and hopes of the masses in the Near East, making even temporary mandates a burden. The political development of the various countries is widely different and partakes of the character of its leaders. The base of authority and power is widening and rests more assuredly on the people as a whole. National diplomacy is directed inwardly, with increasing consideration to the welfare of the individuals within the country and less to international intrigue without. The prosperity of each country is a matter of primary concern to its officials in authority. The well-being of the mass of citizens is replacing the theory of the aggrandizement of the few. The west has sown many child and social welfare ideas. They must be cultivated by friendly attention if they are to bear fruit worthy of the sower

and the soil. Future American participation in the development of the countries of the Near East, even more than in the immediate past, must take cognizance of the self-consciousness, the self-reliance and the self-respect of the different peoples.

The changes of the last years, noticeable and commendable as they are, have not removed the dragging influences of the past nor fully pointed the way to a certain future. It is in process. Education reserved for the few is demanded by the many. Health, the intelligent concern of the educated, is a matter of interest to the most lowly. Manners and customs that have withstood the centuries have vanished overnight. Methods of agriculture, practiced since the days of Abraham, are slowly being replaced by more productive practices. Previously, the results of the age of machinery scarcely reached the bazaars; now, the factories themselves have penetrated the interior.

Religions, formerly used as the tools of statecraft, have been separated from the government and must now measure their value by the influence on the life and conduct of their worshipers.

These changes in the Near East must be reflected in the attitude and thinking of America toward the peoples, institutions and governments. Now that the emergency need for food to sustain starving bodies and for funds to care for orphaned children has fortunately passed, the question should be asked honestly, what does America have that the Near East does not possess in ideas and experience, which America can be expected reasonably to share with the people of the east, and in return, what has the east inherited that the west might well consider?

Dr. John H. Finley points to America's future contribution to the Near East: "Our contribution is to try to lift the many towards the heights of the few, and so to help pay our great debt to those Near East lands which gave all

Above (left): John H. Finley, vice-chairman of the Committee, presents to President Coolidge a rug woven by Near East orphan girls. *(Right):* Mrs. Charles R. Gannaway, wife of the former director of the medical station, Marash Turkey, with her adopted child, Zadi, who toured the United States during an intensive campaign. *Below:* A Near East Relief food ship.

Above: Jackie Coogan, leader of the modern "Children's Crusade," explains to George E. Cryer, mayor of Los Angeles, the places in the Near East he will visit in the distribution of food and clothing, before an audience of Boy Scouts who helped in the nation-wide collection campaign. *Below:* A Golden Rule tea in Jerusalem attended by the Grand Mufti (Moslem) of Palestine, Musa Kazim Pasha (former governor), and Patriarchs or representatives of Armenian, Greek, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Maronite, Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian and various Protestant churches.

the world the surpassing few. . . . But it marks the beginning of a new chapter, one of constructive helpfulness through education to those that sit in the ancestral home of Christendom, that new woes may be prevented. The picture of conditions widely prevalent from Albania to Iraq is a dark one to western eyes. Many things that are deemed essential to our general welfare are wanting. Particularly drab and hopeless seem the lives of women and children whose health and happiness and whose education are a prime concern in our western civilization."

The drabness that pervades the picture of the Near East at present darkens the hopes of 33,000,000 rural peoples, remote and untouched by many of the outward forms of civilization. These potential masses of eight countries have caught a glimpse of a new world light. Still eighty-five per cent of the people of the Near East are living under conditions that are described as "utterly miserable." Children are born without a fair chance at life. The common heritages of youth are denied them. If they survive, they are pressed back into the groove of the centuries. Health and sanitation, the first of civilization's essentials, have been strangers in thousands of villages. Doctors and nurses are unknown in great areas. Tuberculosis, that has supposedly united medical forces everywhere to combat its scourge, sweeps devastatingly onward, unchallenged. Malaria devitalizes two-thirds of the populations without the majority even knowing that the mosquito transmits the illness.

The villages looking questioningly at the passing of the years, remain unchanged, except where the returned soldier, the ex-orphan, the newly arrived refugee or the returned student has stirred new hopes and aroused new ambitions. The village homes, unlighted and unventilated, surrounded by the refuse of existence, cannot rear future youths much different from the present. Not only must new ideas and incentives for better homes be planted in these peoples,

but the economic capacities must be increased to satisfy the newly awakened desires.

The drabness of life among the rural peoples of the Near East is lightened by growing evidences of change in each country. To whom shall these countries look for guidance and helpful friendship? During the two decades, these people have been struggling for existence in war and against exile. During this same period, America has been developing a rural consciousness, perfecting new practices of health and sanitation, and evolving new methods of child and social welfare. From the wealth of these experiences, America can make a new contribution to the peoples who sit in the ancestral homes of Christendom, through demonstration, leadership, encouragement and co-operation.

A survey presented two facts: "first, that American agencies in the Near East have rendered a very vital service to the Near East countries; and, second, that the present needs of these countries and peoples are still numerous and in some respects drastic. Speaking generally, it has been inevitable that the primary influence of these organizations has been more largely in the cities and in the coastal areas than in the rural regions of the interior. In the regions of their influence, they have undoubtedly initiated forces that, with the passing of time, will achieve vital results throughout the Near Eastern countries, but great masses of people and vast areas as yet have not come within the scope of the American agencies. The continuing and unmet needs relate to practically every phase of life, including health, economic conditions, inter-racial misunderstanding, welfare of women and children, healthful recreation and the inspiration of religion."

The colleges, the missions, and other agencies are overtaxed by their own commendable responsibilities. The survey further pointed out that no organization existed to undertake the program of service to the practically un-

touched rural areas, involving eighty-five per cent of the total population of 33,000,000 people.

The survey revealed these great unmet needs among unserved people. Eight countries have urgently requested America to continue and extend the friendly service that has characterized America's presence in the Near East. An investment of more than a hundred million dollars and a wealth of human life and effort may be conserved by a comparatively small investment in the future. In the past, the needs of children and refugees have been successfully interpreted in terms commonly understood in every home: food, clothing, and guidance of the growing child. Distance has been bridged by human sympathy and helpfulness.

There are 132,000 children growing into manhood and womanhood in thousands of villages and towns throughout the Near East. New ideas of health and recreation, of worship and work have been instilled into their lives. They serve as a contact between the old and the new. They are the forerunners possibly of a different village life. They are a part of the foundation of good will and opportunity that has been laid during the last fifteen years. With such material is the living structure of the future to be built in the Near East.

PART EIGHT
HOME SUPPORT AND CO-OPERATION

CHAPTER XXV

EXPANSION AT HOME

THE organization of a committee for relief of sufferers in the Near East was the spontaneous response of a group of men to an abbreviated cable statement and appeal from Constantinople. The amount requested was definite and was considered ample to meet the immediate situation. The exact conditions within the Ottoman Empire were little understood. Two facts were certain—the distress was real and the source of the appeal was absolutely trustworthy. There was only one program of action—to form a committee with responsible officers to inform the public, collect as much money as possible, and transmit the relief funds to the American ambassador and the local committee in Constantinople. There were no thoughts and no plans beyond the immediate need. The Committee, which was quickly and effectively brought into action, was even without an official name.

As the unfolding information from overseas, received largely through state department channels, revealed the startling magnitude of the tragedy, the Committee members accepted the increased responsibility and adjusted their program and organization accordingly. This flexibility of action was maintained throughout the history of the relief work, always hoping that conditions would return to normal overseas, permitting the honorable withdrawal of American aid, ever willing to transfer the obligations in whole or in part to other organizations able to share the burdens and yet never shrinking from the responsibilities that gradually

mounted in overwhelming proportions, nor quitting before the task was completed.

Within three months of its formation the Committee was convinced that the necessary funds could not be raised and the alleviating relief measures applied in less than a year. The full situation was laid before the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Red Cross and they were asked to counsel and co-operate. The Foundation responded generously by making repeated contributions, supplementing the early gifts from the general public. Its secretary, Jerome Greene, maintained the most cordial relations with the Committee and assisted in the formulation of the program. The Red Cross, as the needs increased and the relief organization expanded, enlarged its co-operation and increased its monthly appropriation to the Committee.

Within six months the small office of the Committee at 70 Fifth Avenue was overcrowded and literally swamped with a flood of correspondence and administration details. Dr. Dutton had volunteered to act as secretary in addition to his numerous official duties with other organizations. Mr. Mallory, who had been engaged to assist the secretary, was occupied fully with volunteer relief committees in various large cities across the country. The chairman, who resided in Boston, maintained a large official correspondence relating to policies, reports of needs overseas, directed the releases to the press, and maintained the Committee's official relations with the state department with its invaluable sources of information.

The Committee sought the immediate assistance of other organizations and organized groups. Church leaders commended the appeal to their constituencies and the response was generous. There was a background of intelligent interest among the churches in the peoples and countries of the Near East. Seven religious communions were especially well informed, because their co-religionists were seriously

involved in the tragedy: the Jews, the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformists, the United Presbyterians and the Mennonites. The Roman Catholics and Protestant churches had missionaries in the stricken areas with educational and medical institutions representing large investments of interest and years of service. The Episcopal churches had friendly and co-operative relations of long standing with the Eastern Orthodox churches.

The fact that the people in distress lived in Bible lands, where the Old Testament was written by the historians and the prophets, where the New Testament unfolded the life of Christ and recorded the journeys of Paul, was of great significance and interest to the churches and Sunday schools. These religious organizations were among the first to respond to the appeal from Palestine, Mt. Ararat, the cities of the Seven Churches of Asia and later from Macedonia and Corinth, and they continued their generous support and co-operation through fifteen years of unbroken service.

It became evident that the relief work could not terminate as soon as it had been expected. The small improvised office, with the limited staff, was inadequate to handle the rapidly growing activities and unable to meet the necessary demands for expansion. Realizing that the urgent necessity for larger funds involved an increase in the staff and more office space, but still believing that the emergency would not be long and consequently unwilling to recommend new offices and a special staff of relief workers, the chairman interviewed the executive secretary of the Layman's Missionary Movement, William B. Millar, with the request that the promotion of the relief appeal throughout the country be undertaken by his organization and office for a period of three months. The following quotation is taken from a letter written April 14, 1916, by the chairman to Mr. Millar:

I want to put into writing a request following up our conversation of yesterday, on the subject of relief for the Christian peoples of Turkey.

As to the need of our making more definite exertion—and when I say "our" I mean the people of the United States—to meet the emergency in Turkey, a volume might be written. The United States consul at Aleppo wires that there are half a million refugees, in desperate condition, dying of disease, starvation and exposure, in the districts of Aleppo, Baghdad, Mosul and Dier-ez-Zor. Our commission in Persia and Russia reports that there are over 200,000 refugees in these districts who have been driven out of Turkey, some of whom are now returning to their desolated homes under Russian protection, with no seed to sow for a new crop, no animals with which to till the soil, and with no food to eat while the new crop is growing. The 200,000 referred to can be reached now, and a large part of the 500,000 reported by the consul at Aleppo, to say nothing of the tens of thousands scattered throughout the interior of Asia Minor, accessible to the missionaries and United States consuls who are giving their time and strength to the distribution of relief. Now a cable dispatch has recently come, reporting that the distress in Constantinople and vicinity is becoming terrific, with typhus at many points. The whole Turkish Empire is threatened with one of the greatest famines of its history, since all reports indicate that less than fifteen per cent—some say ten per cent—of the arable fields of Turkey are being sown this spring.

You will see by this letterhead that we have a thoroughly representative national committee with many sub-committees, organized throughout the States. Some of these auxiliary committees are ready to be galvanized into action by energetic leadership. Other committees should be organized, thus creating a real, aggressive force in all large centers of population, ready to act. Many of these local committees have sought our help in organizing and in promotion, but our Committee in New York is not able to respond to any very great extent. Our secretary, Dr. Dutton, has many official duties which he cannot relinquish. We often marvel that he has been able to give so much time to this relief work in the face of his other large and important responsibilities.

It would be my thought that the Layman's organization, acting in the interests of humanity, should receive a commission

from our American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief and with all the strength and power of your committee, using your splendid machinery and organizing force, arouse a new interest in the situation in Turkey and materialize that interest in substantial gifts. This should be done as soon as possible.

It would be my idea that the work be carried on at your present headquarters, 1 Madison Avenue. Our offices at 70 Fifth Avenue are too limited; besides, they will be needed for the general administrative work. It would be necessary that you direct all gifts to be sent to the treasurer of the Relief Committee, Charles R. Crane, at 70 Fifth Avenue. I would expect, for the two or three months or even longer that you take over this work, that our Committee would pay the salaries which you are now paying to your secretaries who devote themselves wholly to this task, as well as meet the necessary overhead expenses.

We are to have a meeting of our Committee at the Yale Club on Wednesday afternoon at three o'clock, the 19th. I hope you will be able to be there when this whole matter will be discussed and that you will be able to give us an answer as to whether you can undertake this work. I realize that it is putting a tremendous task upon you, but the case is most urgent.

You spoke yesterday of one of the fundamental principles of the Layman's Movement, that it is not a money collection agency. I feel sure that the constituency of the Movement will realize that this is an emergency which would warrant your office in making an exception to this general rule. And then, too, the Movement itself as an organization need not officially go into this, but simply permit its executive officers to take up the task as they did in the instance of China when they rendered magnificent service in a time of unusual distress.

The response was sympathetic and immediate. The secretarial, executive assistance which had been requested was granted. Charles V. Vickrey and practically the entire staff was loaned to the Committee for three months. Mr. Vickrey was made office secretary of the Committee, supplementing Secretary Dutton, and directed the organization of the office and the promotional work, bringing to the new enterprise his practical knowledge, enthusiasm and acquaintance with methods of raising funds for benevolent purposes.

When the Layman's Movement undertook this special campaign a comprehensive statement was issued to its secretaries and local committees. After stating the reason why the traditional policy on the matter of financial appeals had been reversed to meet this extraordinary emergency, a program of action was outlined for the guidance of executives and local committees.

First: That an immediate conference with leading pastors and sympathetic laymen be called to review the facts contained in the literature of the relief committee which is being enclosed.

Second: That the literature be circulated in the name of the local committee to all churches and Sunday schools, asking for the observance of May 28 for Armenian sufferers as recommended by the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee, the Federal Council of Churches, the World's Sunday School and the International Sunday School Associations.

Third: That mass meetings be held with speakers personally conversant with the conditions in the Near East, as far as possible, and wherever such speakers are not available that pastors and other local speakers present the appeals based upon the literature of the Relief Committee.

Fourth: That these meetings be used as occasions for the organization of an extensive publicity campaign through local papers in which the information contained in the material enclosed be given to the public.

Fifth: That daily and other papers be approached with reference to opening their columns to subscriptions for this purpose, the paper publishing the names of the contributors.

Sixth: That large givers be approached individually and the immediate need in the Near East laid upon their hearts.

The staff of the Layman's Movement co-operated in the promotional program for more than nine months, aiding the organization of local committees throughout the states, arranging mass meetings with notable speakers, cultivating churches and Sunday schools and securing large individual gifts. When, in the beginning of 1917, America entered the war and there seemed little probability that the relief work

in the Near East would be quickly terminated by the re-establishment of peace, the Layman's Movement suggested the withdrawal of most of its staff from the relief work, which would be necessarily protracted, that the executives might return to the promotion of the Layman's Missionary program. The Committee, deeply appreciative of the services which had been rendered, reluctantly agreed, realizing that this withdrawal meant the organization of a staff of executives and field workers, the rental of adequate office space and the assumption of an indefinite, continuing responsibility. Mr. Vickrey was retained in the capacity of executive secretary, some of the former workers were transferred to the staff of the organization, and new personnel were employed. Offices were taken at 1 Madison Avenue.

During the years of expanding activities and organization, four major methods were employed in promoting the work: appeals for individual gifts, community campaigns, contributions through the churches and Sunday schools and public meetings for information and collections. The first appeal had gone to a list of benevolently minded individuals furnished by other organizations. It became necessary to build up a list of friends specifically for the relief work in the Near East. As each gift was received a careful record of the name, the address and the amount was kept on a card. When important information was received from overseas, descriptive of the existing conditions, copies were mailed to these interested friends, so that gradually the enlarging constituency became better informed of the needs and understood the results that were being obtained through the distribution of their gifts. Constantly an effort was made to make friends by sending appeals to new lists of potential givers. These letters frequently were signed by members of the Committee and were accompanied by printed literature explaining the need and giving authenticated facts from the Near East.

The war aroused the sympathetic hearts of all Americans to unprecedented generosity. War drives for innumerable charities were brought to a climax by the enormous funds donated to community war chests and divided among the separate national organizations. As early as 1917 the Committee encouraged the formation of local committees, with a complete plan for community campaigns with public meetings, personal solicitation and newspaper publicity. A large amount of money was secured at a comparatively low cost because the workers were volunteers and all the agencies of the city participated.

The churches and Sunday schools were predisposed to respond to the various relief appeals during the war but they had a special reason for expressing interest in the Near East. It was the birthplace of the religion they professed. It presented an opportunity to carry back to people dwelling in the sacred places the message of brotherhood and charity. Furthermore, the churches were organized groups easily accessible, with definite leadership, which greatly simplified the mechanics of presenting an appeal to large numbers of people. They had the experience and the machinery for collecting gifts and transmitting them to the national office with small expense to the relief funds. Often all the churches would unite on a common Sunday for the presentation of the relief work. These church field days enlisted the support of the community and the press. The cause was presented by local ministers and outside speakers. Pledge cards were distributed to enable the individual or the church to indicate its purpose to continue to support the work beyond the cash gift of the particular Sunday.

Before the armistice, state committees, with local offices, had been organized in practically every state. The chairman was either the governor, or some equally prominent citizen. The treasurer was a banker or well-known business

man. The other members of the committee were representative of the various organizational and religious interests. The executive secretaries of these state committees were usually salaried officers devoting their entire time to the promotion of the relief cause under the sponsorship of the state committee but responsible to the national committee. The system of records used nationally was used in the state offices. Receipts for all contributions were issued in quadruplicate, the original being sent to the donor, one copy being retained in the state office, one copy being filed in the national office and the fourth copy being retained for the auditors. These receipts were consecutively numbered and officially prepared, and every treasurer was required to issue a serially numbered receipt for every contribution received. The public was warned not to give money to unauthorized collectors. They were advised to report any delay in receiving the proper acknowledgment in order that a quick check-up might be made of non-receipt or delay.

The national office was organized under a number of separate departments with responsible executives. The finances were directed by a controller who co-ordinated the accounting of receipts and home expenditures with the budgeting and accounting of the distribution of relief funds overseas. The foreign department handled the administration problems, the personnel questions and the correspondence with the various areas of relief operations. The campaign department was organized under a national campaign director, who maintained the immediate supervision of the field staff working in the state offices. The bureau of speakers, bureau of public information and the bureau of public and organizational relations, each with executive directors, co-ordinated with the campaign department in the preparation of printed and promotional material, in the publicity through national magazines and local papers and in the control and assignment of speakers. The necessity for a

careful and comprehensive organization can be understood readily from the fact that the Committee, during the first five years, raised and distributed over $30,000,000.

In the middle of the year 1917 there began a period of especially helpful and co-operative relationship with the American Red Cross. In 1917 the Red Cross War Council started a campaign for $100,000,000. Judge Lovett was made chairman of a Red Cross committee to confer with the other numerous relief organizations. The chairman and executive secretary of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East met Judge Lovett and his committee and explained fully the reasons for organizing, and reported on the relief work which had been done in the Near East. At that time the statement was made that the Committee would gladly turn over all its assets and all its responsibilities to the Red Cross, provided the Red Cross would agree to complete the relief work, including the care of thousands of orphaned children, who were daily becoming a more important problem. It was apparent that the support and training of this mass of child life would require funds long after the refugee problem had been solved. The representatives of the Red Cross decided that the American Committee for Relief in the Near East should continue its independent organization for the refugees and children. They stated that the Red Cross, as an emergency organization, could not assume responsibilities over a prolonged period of years. It was recognized that the Committee had an obligation to the children which would not be discharged fully even when the war was over.

Generous appropriations, totaling $6,000,000, were made by the American Red Cross from its War Council funds for the continuation of the work of the Committee. Later, it sent a special commission, under the leadership of Dr. John H. Finley, to work with General Allenby. The Com-

mission made its way into Palestine. Near East Relief had collected substantial sums for sufferers in Bible lands and it made an appropriation of $50,000 a month to the Red Cross for relief work in Palestine and Syria to be expended by the Commission. When the Red Cross withdrew, in the spring of 1919, its staff and equipment in Palestine, together with its responsibilities, were passed over to, and accepted by, the Near East Relief.

Immediately after the Turkish armistice, when the entire Near East was accessible to relief workers, the question was raised as to whether Near East Relief might not transfer its work to the Red Cross. Representatives of the Committee met with the War Council of the Red Cross, with H. P. Davidson presiding. The chairman, speaking for Near East Relief, stated that the executive committee would gladly be freed of further responsibility if the Red Cross could see its way clear to assume the obligations of the Committee toward the rehabilitation of the refugees and the care of the 100,000 orphaned and unattached homeless children, for there seemed to be no other solution than their support and training for economic self-support. The Red Cross again recommended the continuation of the Near East Relief as a separate organization and gave assurance of its sympathetic and helpful co-operation. During fifteen years of organizational relations the spirit and desire for co-operation has always pervaded. There has been no duplication of effort. The area east of Constantinople was understood mutually to be the field of operations for the Near East Relief. When the Russian refugees suddenly arrived in Constantinople the Red Cross, through its south Russia commission, supervised the relief work among these people, the Near East Relief continuing its orphan and relief work for the native populations of the city. When the Smyrna disaster drove the Greeks of Anatolia across

the Ægean to Greece, a part of the emergency relief was shared by the special Red Cross appropriation, while the orphanage responsibility and the continuing relief work was maintained by the Near East Relief. The counsel and financial help of the Red Cross have been invaluable.

CHAPTER XXVI

LETTING THE PUBLIC KNOW

From the very beginning the Committee received the friendly co-operative assistance of the state department in Washington. The source of the first authentic information was the diplomatic cable dispatches. The first newspaper releases, portraying the actual conditions within the Ottoman Empire, came from these messages, edited by the chairman of the newly organized Relief Committee. Moreover, President Wilson was keenly alive to the situation and eager that America should do its part in the humanitarian effort to relieve the distress among the war-stricken peoples overseas. Through his personal friendship with Mr. Dodge and Mr. Crane he assured the Committee of his interest in the Near East.

Many members of Congress personally endorsed the relief appeal and both the Senate and House of Representatives officially commended the need of assistance for the suffering people to the attention and sympathetic response of the nation. On July 10, 1916, Congress passed a joint resolution requesting the President to designate a special day for the nation-wide consideration of the critical condition of the Armenian people and asking the citizens of the country generously to support the program of relief:

> Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, that in view of the misery, wretchedness and hardships which these people are suffering, the President of the United States be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citizens of this country may give expression to their sympathy by contributing to the funds now being raised for the relief of the Armenians in the belligerent countries.

In accordance with this action of Congress and as an expression of his own personal interest President Wilson issued the following proclamation on August 31, 1916:

> Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, in compliance with the said suggestion of the Senate and the said request of Congress thereof, do appoint and proclaim Saturday, October 21, and Sunday, October 22, 1916, as joint days upon which the people of the United States may make such contribution as they feel disposed for the aid of the stricken Syrian and Armenian people.

This was the first of an unbroken series of Presidential proclamations issued on behalf of the relief work by President Wilson, President Harding and President Coolidge.

Following the Smyrna fire and the general exodus of the Greeks from Turkey, President Harding issued a special proclamation to the governors of all the states, suggesting the observance of Sunday, December 3, 1922, as Near East Emergency Sunday and requesting the governors to issue a state proclamation calling upon the mayors, public officials, civic groups and individual citizens to observe this day for the special purpose of directing attention to the need for substantial giving. The proclamation of President Harding read in part:

> I request the governors, mayors, business and philanthropic organizations and all other citizens of the United States to hold this tragedy in mind during Thanksgiving week and I appeal again to you to make a response equal to the emergency and worthy of the generous heart and the humanitarian spirit of our great republic.

President Coolidge during his administration issued several statements in the interests of the relief work. He attended a special dinner in Washington arranged by the Committee and delivered an address on the international importance of American humanitarian efforts abroad.

The success of the public appeals, the nation-wide confidence in the reports of the needs and the ability of the relief workers to distribute the donated funds, was due in no small measure to the fact that these appeals received the endorsement of the Presidents of the United States and that Congress placed its approval on the organization by granting it a special charter.

No less important locally were the state endorsements, the proclamations by the governors of the various commonwealths. In many states the governor served as chairman of the state committee and in Pennsylvania, for example, the governor signed each year the letter of appeal to the citizens of the state. During local city campaigns many mayors co-operated by serving on the committee and by issuing official statements for publication in the local papers.

The task before the Committee was to make the need for relief in the Near East known to the people of America, to secure the confidence and approval of the organization itself and then to persuade by letter, personal solicitation, or through organizational channels, a large number of generously inclined persons to contribute sufficient funds to carry on an adequate relief program overseas.

The newspapers were of invaluable assistance. From the early days of October, 1915, when the Committee released the first word pictures of the tragedy in the Near East, until the present, when the news records the educational work among thousands of orphans or health programs for the rural villages, the daily papers have been liberal in giving space to news items covering various phases of the work, and the editors have been helpful by their comments and persuasiveness, and the cartoonists and columnists have added their line and word pictures to efforts to interest the public.

From the beginning the religious press was an ally in all

the work of relief. Bulletins were regularly sent out to the editors of some three hundred religious publications in the country, accompanied by a communication addressed to the editors asking their editorial co-operation. This personal note contained important items, up-to-date news from the field which had been received after the bulletin had been released. The entire religious press, including the Jewish and the Roman Catholic, was sympathetic and co-operative, backing the work of the Committee editorially and with specially prepared articles.

The series of early bulletins gradually evolved into a small monthly magazine. All the larger contributors received this publication, later known as the "New Near East." It contained pictures, news items, short summaries from the overseas reports and an outline of the expanding work at home. An interested and sympathetic giving constituency was developed by this regular, informative service.

The story of the need overseas was told not only by the pen and the press but effectively by public speeches and church addresses. During the war the Committee was fortunate in having several unusually effective speakers who had lived in the Near East, some of them returning after personally experiencing the horrors of the tragedy and after having served in the administration of relief. Men like Dr. Frederick Coan and Dr. Isaac Yonan made the Persian tale of suffering, reality to any audience. Lady Anne Azgapetian and her husband, a General in the Russian army, visualized in living words the mass-agony of the refugees from Turkey and Persia struggling for life in the Russian Caucasus. More recently Mrs. Gannaway and Zadi, an adopted Armenian orphan from Syria, profoundly impressed contributing friends throughout the country by the story of one child, which personified the story of 132,000 others. Scores of speakers during the years have transferred with appealing effectiveness the tragic scenes from the dis-

tant East into the hearts of a sympathetic and responsive public.

Several members of the national board of trustees gave liberally of their time and services. When the Near East became accessible, after the close of the war, and the work was visible to visitors, and when other workers returned from service overseas, scores of effective speakers became available. The Committee was able to furnish well informed and interesting speakers for community campaigns, church field days, public schools and organizational meetings.

The churches led the long list of organizations which co-operated with the Committee in reaching the larger public with the relief message. The first organizational approach to the churches was the direct appeal issued in the name of the Protestant pastors, the Catholic clergy and the Jewish rabbis. This was followed by an effort to enlist the leaders of each denomination through the formation of endorsing and supporting denominational committees. The official approval of each ecclesiastical group brought to the aid of the work the support and authoritative backing of the churches of America.

During 1917 the dispatches from overseas were filled with references to the plight of the orphaned and half orphaned children. It was more than a tragedy of the present generation, it was the possible extermination of the next. The future of a race depended upon the salvaging of this mass of childhood from the wreckage of war, deportation and starvation.[1]

[1] "The need of the orphans is particularly great. Orphanages should be established immediately. Investigations indicate 40,000 fatherless children. Wait your answer to our request for support."—Tiflis, Caucasus.

"Urge Committee to assume responsibility for 10,000 fatherless children at rate of $3 per month per child."—Erivan, Armenia.

"A recent tabulation of orphans without either parent gives us a total of about 1,000 under fourteen years of age from Urmia."—Tabriz, Persia.

"In this city alone we are furnishing immediate relief to 20,000 persons and 1,200 orphans."—Aleppo, Syria.

The Sunday schools, because of their interest in Bible lands and their purpose to translate the ideals of life into action, were naturally interested in the suffering of the children in the Near East. The leaders of the religious educational movement in each denomination responded to an invitation to co-operate in the work and appointed an official representative, who came to New York and remained several weeks working on literature that would convey the story of the orphan needs to the individual Sunday schools and organizing the relief appeal for their church schools. These representatives [1] asked each Sunday school for a gift of money for the children of Bible lands. It was suggested that wherever possible this contribution should be taken at the Christmas season. The response was nation-wide and exceedingly generous. Nearly $1,000,000 were raised by the Sunday school children the first year. The results induced the religious educational leaders to continue this voluntary co-operation with the Committee each succeeding Christmas season. The interest on the part of the children continued in a large measure year after year and many Sunday schools still maintain (1930) a financial responsibility for one or more boys or girls in the Near East.[2]

"I am thinking of the crowds of children outside that are crying for bread, of the women, the mothers, who are wandering in despair to find bread for their little ones. The responsibility of having seen this compels me to write."—Deir-ez-Zor, edge of Syrian Desert.

[1] Edgar Blake, John L. Alexander, Lester Bradner, A. M. Locker, W. C. Pearce, E. B. Chappell, William H. Danforth, Guy C. Lamson, R. E. Magill, F. W. Ramsey, C. C. Stoll, I. J. Van Ness, Sidney A. Weston, Robert M. Hopkins, John M. Somerndyke, C. W. Laufer, Milton S. Littlefield, H. C. McGill, David H. Owen, H. K. Ober, George B. Shaw, Christian Staebler, W. E. Bourquin, Abram Duryee, William J. Lawrence, George T. Webb, George Huntley, G. Bayard Young, E. M. Stephenson, and Roby F. Day.

[2] In the spring of 1919 representatives of the various national Sunday school organizations which had been co-operating in the relief work visited the relief areas and reported to their respective denominations. Their report recommended the continuation of the relief activities and the co-operation of the Sunday schools and churches. Members of this commission were: Samuel Bartlett, Charles H. Boynton, Wilham E.

Other religious societies joined in the relief efforts. The International Christian Endeavor Society endorsed the program and local societies not only made financial contributions but in many of the smaller towns accepted the leadership and organized community drives. The Epworth League, the Episcopal Young People's Movement, co-operating with their churches, and separately, responded generously to the yearly request for assistance.

Without the co-operation of other organizations, groups of women and men committed by their charter and fundamental purposes to service and brotherhood, the relief work would have been far less effective and the response less generous. Most of these organizations were accessible through their central headquarters. There were more than seventy of these national co-operating committees, representative of large working and contributing constituencies.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, former president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, because of her outstanding leadership among the women of America, was most helpful in enlisting the interest of the various women's organizations. As a member of the board of trustees she has given valuable time and counsel to interpreting the Committee and the work overseas to the women's groups at home and has rendered a vital service in international good will, both in the Near East and America.

The president of the National Council of Women has always been a member of the board of trustees, changing at their request with each election. Although women's representation on the national committee has never been commensurate with the work and support given by the organized groups of women or by individual service, the

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Carpenter, E. B. Chappell, Arthur Jerome Culler, Abram Duryee, H. H. Fout, R. M. Hopkins, George E. Huntley, Harold C. Jaquith, William I. Lawrence, Paul S. Leinback, Milton Littlefield, R. E. Magill, J. E. Miller, W. Edward Raffety, George Trull, G. Bayard Young, C. E. Wilbur.

Committee has always depended largely upon the leadership and sympathetic co-operation of the women who have understood the depths of human suffering and the appeal of the child life of the Near East.[1]

Labor organizations co-operated in enlisting the interest of their members in the international expression of good will and helpfulness. Frank Morrison, long a member of the board of trustees, took an active part in interesting the labor unions and labor magazines in the relief needs.

The service clubs, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and Exchange, not only invited Near East speakers to their luncheons but some of the clubs assumed full responsibility for the local campaigns; others by special collections or from their welfare funds made regular contributions to the work. The fraternal organizations frequently made the relief appeal a part of their lodge responsibility and program.[2]

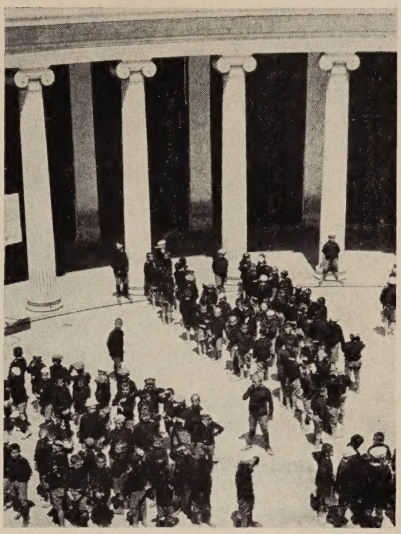
The Boy Scouts were helpful in a multitude of ways. They played an important part in every clothing campaign, distributing the tags to each home, accompanying the collecting trucks and helping at the receiving stations. The Girl Scouts were helpers on many occasions, often dressing to represent the various countries where the relief work was being conducted. Practically every national organization not only endorsed the Near East Relief but most of them with enthusiasm and conviction pledged their active support to the promotion of its work.

Many communities contributed generously during the period of the war through their War Chest funds. An

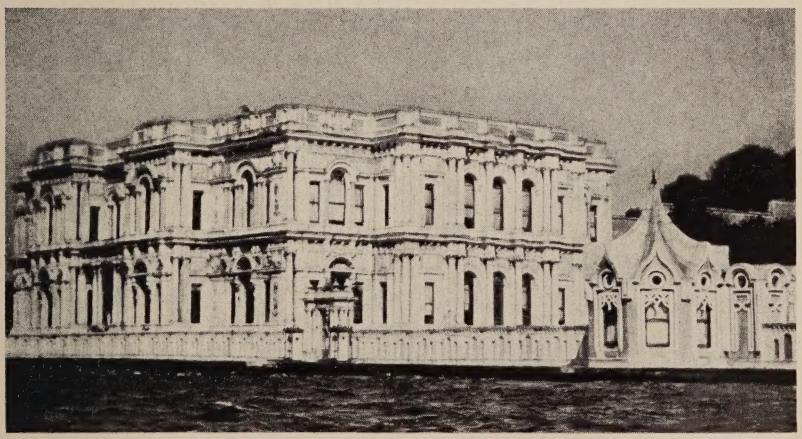
[1] Co-operating women's organizations represented officially on the Women's National Committee of Near East Relief: General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Council of Women, Daughters of the American Revolution, National Council of Catholic Women, Women's Christian Temperance Union, International Order of Kings Daughters and Sons, Order of the Eastern Star, American Association of University Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women, Parent Teachers Association, United Daughters of the Confederacy.

[2] Co-operating fraternal organizations: National Fraternal Congress of America, Masonic Orders, Odd Fellows, Knights of Columbus.

Orphans exiled from Anatolia to Greece at play on a terrace of the Kaiser's summer palace at Corfu.



In the rotunda of the Zappeion, loaned by the Greek Government for use as an orphanage.



One of the beautiful palaces on the Bosphorus used temporarily as an orphanage.

Above: There are still 30,000 refugees huddled in uncomfortable overcrowded camps in Syria and Greece similar to this one in Beirut. *Below:* Type of homes erected by the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission.

application was filed with the directors of the local chest, the records of the Committee were examined by the national investigating bureau and the statements setting forth the national yearly budget were carefully reviewed and a reasonable portion of the national campaign was accepted and written into the budget of the local chest, and then remitted to the Committee in monthly installments.[1]

The public was informed not only through the newspapers but also through religious journals and national magazines and trade papers. It would be difficult to name any weekly or monthly periodical that has not published one or more special articles upon some phase of the work in the Near East.

The helpful authors who have directly or indirectly attracted the attention of magazine readers to the relief work have rendered a valuable service and are listed among the hosts of volunteer relief workers.[2]

The use of the newspapers and magazines was supplemented by posters, large and small. Each year the campaign story was told in the simple, concise form of a display poster. As the conditions changed new slogans were coined

[1] The Near East Relief has received appropriations from 203 different community chests covering most of the states. The largest number of contributing chests in any state came from New York with 53; Ohio followed with 34. The sums given ranged from eight hundred dollars up to two hundred thousand dollars per year.

[2] Henry J. Allen, Ida Bailey Allen, Zoe Beckley, Ellis Parker Butler, S. Parkes Cadman, Samuel McCrea Cavert, Joe Mitchell Chapple, Melville Chater, Eleanor Franklin Egan, John H. Finley, Harry Franck, Charles Dana Gibson, George W. Gilmore, Major General James G. Harbord, Newell Dwight Hillis, Sir Esme Howard, Will Irwin, Ambassador Jules M. Jusserand, S. Jay Kaufman, Frances Parkinson Keyes, Rose Wilder Lane, A Lawrence Lowell, Edwin Markham, Anne O'Hare McCormick, Paul Monroe, Benjamin Burgess Moore, Henry Morgenthau, John R. Mott, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, George W. Ochs Oakes, Angelo Patri, Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, Wm. C. Poole, W. Edward Raffety, Wm. Jourdan Rapp, R. R. Reeder, Alice Hegan Rice, E. Maude Royden, Albert Shaw, Robert E. Speer, Otis Swift, Ida M. Tarbell, Augustus Thomas, James I. Vance, Henry Van Dyke, Felix Warburg, P. W. Wilson.

and new pictorial presentations were prepared. Immediately following the armistice, when the American public could be expected to lessen their interest and reduce their giving the story of unsettled refugees was told by a picture of desolation with the words, "Hunger Knows No Armistice." During the underwriting campaign when the question was the completion of a moral responsibility to thousands of orphaned children the picture represented an American, personified as a Scout, standing somewhat elevated, extending a helpful hand to less fortunate little children from the Near East. This was titled "Don't Let Go, Lift." These posters were drawn usually as a contribution to the work. The list includes some of America's best known artists.[1] Poster, car card and outdoor advertising space that could not have been rented for thousands of dollars was contributed free. Even the expense of placing the posters was paid by the agencies themselves.

Visual publicity was only possible after the war, as few pictures reached America during those censored years. But immediately following the armistice the Near East became an interesting part of the world for the newsreel, and moving picture companies sent their experts to Constantinople and the east. The Committee, because of its contacts with the people and the officials, was able to give these photographers access to unusual material and the companies in turn graciously permitted their operators to take special pictures of the relief conditions and the children for the exclusive use of the Committee. This mutual arrangement with the moving-picture producers was supplemented by a wealth of camera pictures by the members of the staff. Twice moving-picture operators were engaged in Europe to

[1] L. Raemaker, Charles S. Chapman, Frederick Madan, Douglas Volk, Carl T. Anderson, Dean Cornwell, Casimir Mayshark, W. T. Benda, G. Patrick Nelson, and M. Leon Bracker.

take special pictures which would tell a complete story of the work on the screen. The moving-picture material was arranged with descriptive titles to tell an interesting story of the changing conditions overseas. These reels were widely used in schools, churches and public gatherings.[1] During a local campaign the Committee furnished whole reels or part reels as fillers to the moving-picture houses. Even the short scenes from orphanage life or refugee camps carried the name, Near East Relief, and an announcement of the local campaign for relief funds. This form of pictorial presentation largely superseded the illustrated lectures and the colored slides used during the war when other pictures were unobtainable.

In 1924 Jackie Coogan, the child movie actor, offered his services to the Committee as a part of his contribution to interest the children of America in the childhood of the Near East. A milk campaign was organized across the country by using the moving-picture houses, where Jackie's pictures were being shown, to collect cans of condensed or evaporated milk. The supplement to the price of admission was a can of milk. The milk was collected, packed and shipped to New York. Jackie himself accompanied the shipload of contributed milk to Greece. This leader of "the children's crusade" was given a royal welcome by the government, the school children, the people and especially by the orphans. He visualized for the Near East the child interest of America. The moving pictures taken with the children while he was visiting the orphanages were displayed across the continent and interestingly

[1] Alice in Hungerland, Jackie Coogan in Athens, Seeing is Believing, Constructive Forces, Investment in Futures, One of These Little Ones, Stand By Them a Little Longer, A Great Achievement or Uncle America's Golden Rule Children, Earthquake in Armenia, What the Flag Saw, Miracles from Ruins, Doorways to Happiness, Chautauqua Pageant, Caucasus Snap Shots, Romance of a Rug, Making the Man, and others.

portrayed the child life of the Near East to the boys and girls at home.[1]

In 1923 Mr. Vickrey returned to New York from an administrative trip through the Near East. In his outline of the campaign program for the Christmas season he projected for the first time a plan for the observance of a Golden Rule Sunday. The first Sunday in December was selected as the special day on which the attention of the country should be focused upon the under-privileged child life of the Near East. Families were asked to eat a simple orphanage meal and make a sacrificial gift equivalent to at least the cost of an average American dinner. The plan and the name caught the imagination of the press and of organized groups as no other single plan of appeal previously had done. A special supplementary committee sponsored the idea. Local committees organized special campaigns, interesting the community by arranging Golden Rule luncheons and dinners at which the simple orphanage menu was served. Hotels co-operated by gratuitously offering their banquet rooms. The local merchants contributed the food supplies and local organizations or schools supervised the program and service. Often more than a thousand people would attend these simple meals at which moving pictures were shown and the work of the Near East Relief was presented by speakers from overseas. For six years, from 1923 to 1929,

[1] "Greece's appreciation of the work of the Near East Relief is exemplified by the overwhelming reception given Jackie Coogan, when at a public ceremony in the Acropolis, attended by the largest crowd ever gathered in Athens, he was awarded the Silver Cross of the Order of George I., presented officially by the government. He was received by the President, and in recognition of his humanitarian services, although he himself was a Roman Catholic, was awarded the Golden Cross of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem by the Greek Orthodox Church—a rare tribute. He appeared at several performances where his pictures were shown free of charge by the moving picture houses exclusively to the children of Athens. He rendered a real service of goodwill and in every way more than fulfilled the expectations of those interested in his going to Greece."—"Greece Today" by Eliot Grinnell Mears.

Golden Rule Sunday was widely observed in the interests of the under-privileged children of the Near East.

The public came to visualize the condition of general destitution through the appeals for old clothes and commodities. During the war the dispatches repeatedly referred to the need for adequate clothing for the refugees, but the blockade prevented the shipment of even the simplest supplies. Large quantities of cloth were included in the first shipments following the armistice but the demand for any kind of warm material for reclothing the ragged was too enormous to be met by new supplies of clothing purchased from the relief funds. Consequently, an appeal was made for old clothes in many cities. The early response encouraged the effort and annual clothing appeals have been made during the last ten years.

First the clothing was distributed directly to the refugees. Later much of it was exchanged with needy peasants for food supplies for the orphans. Some was remade into garments for the orphans to wear. Still later, in Salonika, the old clothing was repaired and distributed to the Greek refugees for a nominal cost, sufficient to defray the expenses of transportation and distribution. Every new emergency in the Near East, including the Russian refugee situation in Bulgaria, has been met in part by the immediate use of supplies of old clothes.

Old clothing campaigns in a city were organized with the help of the schools, boy scouts, the police and fire departments, volunteer trucks from shops and stores and the daily papers. The city departments permitted the use of the schools, fire and police stations as collection depots. The schools or boy scouts distributed tags to each home and the trucks removed the clothing from the numerous receiving depots to a central warehouse for shipment to New York or New Orleans, where it was baled and loaded for the Near East. The railroads generously furnished free

transportation to the port of shipment, so that the clothing campaigns, in a large measure, supplemented the resources of the Committee and enabled it to enlarge its usefulness in clothing refugees and, by the method of exchange, in feeding orphans.

The general interest throughout the country in the work of child training among the orphans of the Near East was demonstrated in a convincing manner by the fact that the superintendents of the public schools in many large towns and cities, notably in New York, opened the schools for the presentation, by means of slides and moving pictures, of the activities of the Committee. The children responded to the telling of the story of suffering child life overseas by bringing cans of milk and other gifts. The helpfulness of these messengers of good will undoubtedly aroused the interest and co-operation of many parents.

The Near East Industries marketed in the United States handiwork of the refugees overseas, made under the organization's supervision, and attracted a definite interest to the practical side of the program of self-support among the widows and dependents. During the Mediterranean tourist season volunteers from Constantinople, Athens and Beirut held sales of these goods on the various ships through the courtesy of the shipowners. Thus the tourists were brought closer to some phases of the relief work and by their purchases gave additional employment.

The groups of Armenians, Greeks and Syrians, throughout the country, co-operated sympathetically with the Committee from the beginning. Through their own organizations and newspapers they collected relief funds. To stimulate the giving of these various nationals the Committee agreed not only to transmit, without cost, all sums raised by these groups, but also during the period of special campaigning, to double any sums these groups might raise for the general fund. The Armenian Benevolent Union,

during fifteen years, has raised more than $1,500,000 for relief work among their compatriots. The Greek newspapers, the *Herald* and the *Atlantis;* the Ahepa and Gapa organizations; the groups of people from Greek communities, exclusive of individual remittances, have raised and sent overseas to their unfortunate compatriots more than $1,000,000 since the Smyrna disaster. The Syrians contributed largely through the means of individual remittances. All these groups co-operated effectively with the Committee. When it is realized that these groups were a comparatively small part of our newly received population, their generous and continuous response is most notable.[1]

The public outside the United States was informed of the condition in the Near East. In England committees were formed to aid war sufferers in various areas of conflict. The neutral countries organized special relief agencies. Several countries joined with the American Committee. Canada co-operated from the beginning. There were many Canadians among the relief workers overseas. The churches and Sunday schools participated. Papers like the *Toronto Globe* took an active leadership in informing the public. After the war, through the efforts of American friends of the organization, stimulated by printed information, co-operating relief committees were formed in Australia, New Zealand, Korea, South America and Japan, where Viscount Shibusawa was chairman.

The International Near East Association was formed in Geneva from representatives of the various European and American societies working for the relief of the people of the Near East. Gordon Berry, the American delegate, was the executive secretary. From a small office in Geneva, and later in Paris, Americans throughout Europe were kept

[1] Foreign born Greeks in the United States in 1920..... 175,976
Foreign born Armenians in the United States in 1920..... 36,628
Foreign born Syrians (including Arabs) in the United States in 1920 51,901

informed of the activities of the Association. Each year substantial contributions were received and transmitted to the American Committee for distribution. Mr. Berry, as the representative of the New York office, opened the way for more than a thousand Armenian boys to go to France as workers and residents. He supervised their adjustment into self-support.

Each winter the Mediterranean cruises carried thousands of tourists to Athens, Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem and Cairo. These ports and cities were but the fringes of the relief activities, which stretched over a thousand miles eastward. In these cities there were all kinds of relief activities functioning, orphanages, refugee camps, working boys' and girls' homes, clinics and hospitals, industries for women, and schools for the blind and deaf. These institutions and programs were supported by funds from America and were distinctively representative of the ideals of the country. Members of the cruises were contributors. Many of the cruise directors, recognizing the interest of the travelers, included such places as the Zappeon orphanage, located near the Stadium, in the regular sight-seeing itinerary of the day in Athens. Arrangements always were made for friends of the work to spend time possible under the guidance of an American or local worker. The reports which these tourists brought back to America and enthusiastically spread among their friends and organizations were one of the most effective ways of informing the public of the magnitude and value of the work.

Just as soon as normal communications were re-established between America and the Near East, the Committee encouraged members of the board, local committeemen, contributors, writers, travelers and tourists to visit the various countries and see the existing conditions. From 1920 an increasing number of representative persons from America each year saw the work overseas in whole or in part. Travel-

ing at their own expense, they were shown every courtesy and attention while in the areas. They returned to America enthusiastic, unprejudiced witnesses and supporters of the continuing program. Their reports made to local committees across the country, the friendly letters written home, which were often reprinted in the daily papers, and their personal testimony of the value and necessity for the relief measures, were invaluable in inspiring confidence and in spreading the story.

A group of these travelers, who visited the Near East independently and on different missions, met together in New York and, at the suggestion of the Committee, prepared a series of statements which were combined into a "Report of Overseas Observers." This group consisted of John H. Finley of the New York *Times;* Henry J. Allen, ex-governor of Kansas; Samuel McCrea Cavert of the Federal Council of Churches; Oliver J. Sands of the American Bank & Trust Company of Richmond, Virginia; George M. Reynolds of the Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company, Chicago; Felix T. McWhirter, president of the Chamber of Commerce of Indianapolis; Frank L. Fay, president of Greenville Steel Car Company; Rev. Dr. Chester B. Emerson of Detroit; George W. Gerwig, secretary of the Board of Public Education, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Alice Hegan Rice, author, and others. This independent statement recorded emphatically the fundamental international and spiritual values of the relief work in addition to the program of saving life. The statement was used throughout the country as an impartial evaluation by independent observers of the work actually being done by the Committee in the Near East.

In order to keep the board of sixty trustees thoroughly informed of the monthly administrative decisions of the executive committee, all the minutes of each meeting with the full reports of the treasurer, the executive secre-

tary and the foreign directors, were sent to each member of the board. When the chairman of the board of trustees reached Paris, on his way to the Lausanne Conference, he called upon Ambassador Herrick. The ambassador's first greeting was, "I am a member of your Near East Relief Committee. I read the dockets of your executive committee every month and am profoundly interested in the great work that the Committee is carrying on in the Near East." All actions of the executive committee and its subcommittees were reported at the annual meeting and reviewed and ratified by the full board.

CHAPTER XXVII

FINANCIAL

BEGINNING as a volunteer committee to collect funds from a sympathetic public for the aid of victims of the Great War in the Near East, the Near East Relief expanded into a corporation created by a special act of Congress in 1919. During fifteen years tens of millions of dollars were received and disbursed. These vast sums were collected chiefly in the United States, in dollars, and disbursed in krans, rubles, piasters, leva, lira, drachma, francs and sterling. The magnitude of its operations places the organization beside outstanding international financial and commercial enterprises during the years of its major activities.

The organization has been insistent from the first upon a full and accurate accounting of all moneys received and expended and since 1919 has rendered and had printed an annual report to Congress. In fact, the result of the application of this detailed method of accounting is an accumulation of accounts and vouchers, which in the aggregate have become a rather burdensome mass of documents for which storage must be found. The auditors were consulted as to how many of these audited papers need be kept, and the reply was: "If a business concern, we would say that at least the records dating prior to 1922 might safely be destroyed; but the organization has been dependent upon the gifts of the public, and we cannot advise that any of the files affecting finances be discarded." Therefore, the Near East Relief is holding the accumulated vouchers and financial documents and reports covering the fifteen years of its operation.

After following the first few chapters of this book, the reader will understand that, in the earlier stages of relief, while vast movements of populations were in progress, in the midst of war and embargo upon communication, it was impossible, in the remoter areas where help was given, to secure detailed vouchers for all payments. During that stage the distributors, in immediate touch with the needs, were missionaries, educators, and diplomatic agents, many of them well known veterans in service, who, in the midst of great personal peril, remained in the field in order to give aid, many of whom by so doing lost everything they possessed and some sacrificed their lives. The Committee knows that all the money transmitted for relief was scrupulously used for that purpose, even if individual vouchers could not be secured in every instance and detailed reports forwarded to New York.

When the areas were opened in 1919 it was possible to organize a system of audits and vouchers, which was done, and the accounts of the Relief Committee both overseas and in New York, became as regular as those of any business organization. Since the armistice, a total of forty-six men, trained in the best business schools of the country, and with practical experience in American business methods, have been sent out to the field to take charge of accounting for the millions of dollars used for relief purposes. During the last ten years the accounting offices of the Relief Committee in all the areas where distribution has taken place, have been on a par with the best conducted business offices in any country in the world.

It has been a surprise to the Committee that there have been so few attempts at profiteering. Disbursements were made in countries impoverished by famine, disorder and war. Looked at from the viewpoint of the people of those countries, the Committee was handling fabulous sums and shipping and transporting vast quantities of foodstuffs,

clothing and medicines. The food and clothing storehouses and supply trains were not attacked, while dishonesty among the workers, many of whom were hastily engaged in Europe at the end of the war, appeared in but a few cases, were of slight consequence and were immediately prosecuted. Those in a position of financial responsibility have been under bonds and the system of vouchers, checks and counter checks has been a safeguard to the organization as well as to any who might have been tempted.

It seems little short of miraculous that operating as the Committee was, in countries politically and socially disorganized, poverty stricken to the last degree, filled with hundreds of thousands of starving people, with discharged soldiers or deserters from armies everywhere, that supplies and funds should have been so free from brigandage or predatory attacks. The fact is emphasized when it is taken into consideration that food and other supplies were stored in vast quantities in warehouses and transported hundreds of miles across thinly populated areas without military escort.

The organization always regarded the protection of the relief supplies as a sacred trust to be defended if necessary. In one instance, one of the early recruits, who came directly from the army in France, proved to be dishonest. He was at once prosecuted by due process of law in the Consular Court; the loot he had secured was returned and the guilty party was sentenced to a term in prison. It was necessary to carry such a case through to conviction in order to demonstrate that the organization purposed to protect its properties from dishonest persons, whether they were Americans or natives of the country.

The necessity of transmitting large sums of money into and through countries at war and putting it into the hands of distributors who were in contact with the need, was a task of no small proportions. At times money was sent from

America to London or Paris, from there to Geneva, Switzerland, to Sweden, or some other neutral country, and thence to Constantinople or southern Russia.

As an illustration of the method of making remittances to the distributors in the field we quote the method of sending funds into Persia during the war, down to and including the arrival of the Judson Commission in 1918.

The Committee made its remittance in sterling to its London agent, the Farmers Loan and Trust Company, with instructions to remit the equivalent in krans to the Committee's representative in Persia. The Trust Company handed to the main office of the Imperial Bank of Persia, in London, a check for the sterling amount to be remitted, with instructions. The Imperial Bank of Persia cabled their branch in Persia that such an amount of sterling had been placed to the credit of that branch on the books of the London office and directed them to place the equivalent in krans to the credit of the Committee's representative in Persia. The Persian branch then fixed the rate of exchange and the amount was advanced as called for.

In order to comply with the requirements, it became necessary to report to the British and Allied governments and secure approval before the remittance could be made. It must be remembered that during the war, every government jealously guarded all importations into countries either directly enemy or potentially so, and all funds or supplies that might in any way ultimately reach the enemy. It was always necessary to make clear to the Allied governments, and in fact to guarantee, that the funds thus transmitted would not in any way be used to furnish comfort and aid to the enemy. After the British and French governments had become familiar with the work of the Near East Relief, many delays, which at first were troublesome, were eliminated. After the United States entered the war and diplomatic relations with Turkey were broken, funds were

transmitted into Turkey by the way of Sweden, the Swedish Minister at Constantinople having taken over the responsibility for American interests in that country.

Even after the relief funds arrived in Constantinople, with diplomatic assistance, the local administrative committee was confronted with the problem of transmitting money to the interior relief stations. The ordinary means of communications and finance were interrupted by the war and made unusable. Dr. Peet, the treasurer of the Constantinople committee, knew that when the Turkish government collected taxes in the interior, the gold coinage was transported to Constantinople by pack animals under guard. Dr. Peet negotiated with the ministry of finance and arranged that specified sums, as regularly indicated by him, should be paid to designated persons in the several relief centers from the local tax collections and receipts exchanged. The local relief representative was permitted to send a telegram to Dr. Peet in Constantinople upon actual receipt of the money and immediately an equivalent sum was paid to the national Turkish treasury. Another method of transmitting funds was employed frequently. Dr. Peet authorized the local relief representative to draw sight drafts upon him for an amount equal to the monthly relief appropriation. Local merchants or others eager to transfer funds from the interior to greater safety in Constantinople, paid substantial premiums for these drafts, which in turn found their way to Dr. Peet and were paid. Both of these methods of transmitting relief funds into the interior of Turkey during the war were dependent upon the unusual confidence of all classes—official and civilian—in the integrity and neutrality of the distributors of these American relief funds.

For the collection of and accounting for funds throughout this country there was formed in most of the states a state committee. A prominent man of the state served as chair-

man and a well known financier, or leading bank, acted as treasurer. More recently some of the states were combined into regional offices. While in general the state committees controlled the local methods and policies of raising funds, the money which was collected was subject to the action of the executive committee and the national office in New York. All contributions were recorded upon an official receipt form, made out in quadruplicate and serially numbered. The original receipt was sent to the donor, the second and third copies provided a statistical record for the national and regional offices and the fourth copy was bound into a cash book and regularly audited by certified public accountants.

For the protection and control of expenditures and in order that the Committee might present to its constituency an accurate picture of the needs of the different areas, a system of budgetary control was adopted, as soon as political conditions made free communications overseas possible. At the same time the various promotional and collecting units and state committees provided the national Committee with estimates of the amounts they hoped to be able to secure during the coming year. The budgeting of the expenditures was balanced by a similar budgeting of the prospective income. The budget considered and authorized by the executive committee was divided into two sections: relief disbursements overseas and expenses incident to promotion, campaigning and office administration at the home base. The relief estimates were prepared by the local directors of finance and supply in conjunction with the managing directors of each area. A consolidated budget was made in the office of the director of overseas operations and copies were transmitted to the controller of finance in New York. This became the basis upon which the executive committee deliberated and authorized foreign expenditures.

The system of budgeting at home and abroad kept expenditures at the lowest stage consistent with sound administration and forced regular, careful and comparative scrutiny of the overseas work. In all the administrations of the Committee overseas it has been the policy to begin only such work as could be carried through to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Smyrna incident was a serious drain upon the finances of the Committee. When the relief workers were authorized to proceed to Smyrna and save life the city was intact. There had been no exodus of refugees out of Turkey nor was the evacuation of the orphans contemplated. The food supplies of the orphanages were used in the emergency but they had to be replaced for the children. The need was greater than the public response. The workers overseas carried out the purposes of the organization at home but the tragic appeal of the refugees, without food in Constantinople and the ports of the Black Sea, unexpectedly continued through the summer of 1923. The summer months seldom produced sufficient gifts to meet the normal orphanage expenditures while the surplus had been completely exhausted by the relief measures of the preceding months. The gap between the known assets and the probable summer contributions, and the Committee's daily obligations to the orphans and the emergency responsibility to the refugees was large. Whereas the Committee was reasonably confident that the benevolent people of the country would respond generously with sufficient funds in the fall campaign, the banks demanded money with which to meet the incoming overseas drafts. Some members of the Committee were prevented from endorsing notes because of business contracts and relationships. There was hesitancy among the members—probably the overseas work would have to be reduced drastically and the refugee feeding terminated until the public response in the fall. Then Cleveland H. Dodge,

as usual, came to the rescue. He looked across the table to his son, Cleveland E. Dodge, who later succeeded his father as treasurer, and said: "Go down to the vaults and take out sufficient securities so that we can borrow at the bank, if it becomes necessary, up to a quarter of a million dollars," and then he arose and started the familiar hymn, "Faith of our fathers, living still," in which the Committee joined. He had again stamped the imprint of his majestic spirit on the relief work.

Orphanages were not opened generally until there was a reasonable expectation that the American public would stand by and see the children through to self-support. Even after the magnificent response to the appeal of 1919, the orphanage directors were warned not to admit more children than it was believed the public would continue to maintain. The Committee aimed to make the results of its charity as nearly permanent as possible. Refugees were helped through a hard winter to an approaching harvest, or they were placed on land with tools and seed to make a harvest for themselves. Children were cared for and trained until a home, under an approved guardian, could be found or they were graduated into self-support. This goal of the relief efforts was constantly sought by a study of comparative needs in the different areas and measuring these with the available funds.

While orphanages were established under the policies of the executive committee and the supporting constituency, careful records of the costs of food, education, medication, clothing, etc., in each institution, were made. Within each area monthly meetings of the orphanage directors were held and comparative costs of operation were discussed. This stimulated a friendly competition to keep the individual orphanage costs on the lowest scale consistent with the good health and training of the orphans.

Many of the refugees had distant relatives in this country

who were able and willing to support them during the emergency. The Committee, through its personal service department, rendered invaluable aid in bringing the refugees in the Near East and the relatives in America into communication and in assisting in the transmission of individually designated relief funds. This service, which began early in 1918, was continued for ten years and until the banking conditions in each of the countries in the Near East made facilities available for direct transmission of funds. From the beginning of the service to date a total of $4,120,278.73 has been remitted, covering thousands of individual transactions. It is estimated that these remittances benefited, on the average, a family of three and that a total of 50,000 persons were aided.

The Armenian Benevolent Union in New York collected and sent to the Near East for relief and reconstruction purposes $1,472,000. None of this money was transmitted through the treasury of the Near East Relief. But more than a million dollars, which were given to the Near East Relief by individual Armenians and by special Armenian committees for general work, passed through its treasury. Large contributions amounting to several hundred thousands of dollars were made by the Greeks directly to Athenian committees. Greeks and Greek committees also contributed generously through the Near East Relief.

In addition to the cash handled by the organization, large contributions were received in the form of foodstuffs, particularly condensed milk, wheat, corn and corn grits. Quantities of old clothing and shoes were received. For the systematic handling of commodities, the Near East Agency was formed within the Near East Relief, as a subsidiary. It handled no cash, but supervised the collection, transportation and storage of all contributions in kind. This method of accounting simplified the control of all commodity contributions and co-ordinated the transactions with the gen-

eral operations. The Near East Industries were established in a similar manner as another subsidiary to sponsor and supervise the industrial work. The original capital was provided by the Near East Relief. The Industries are self-supporting. Any profits accruing are credited to the parent organization.

Some idea of the magnitude of the work involved in handling commodity relief can be gathered from the fact that in 1922 to 1928, the Near East Relief received and shipped 15,931,320 pounds of used clothing and shoes and 1,946,928 cans of milk, in addition to hundreds of tons of corn, flour, beans, prunes, cocoa and other food commodities. There were difficult problems involved in gathering these contributions made in small units and in warehousing, shipping and distributing the gifts in kind overseas. They were important factors in the general relief program and in the feeding of the great family of orphaned children.[1]

The first appeal for funds for the relief work was made by the Committee in October, 1915. By December 31, 1915, there had come into the hands of the treasurer of the Committee $176,929. The full amount was sent to Constantinople for relief in Turkey, to Tiflis for work in the Russian

[1] "A large factor in our relief contributions for the past six months, has been the direct contributions of wheat, corn flour, rice, beans and other commodities by the grain growers of the west and south.

"The S. S. Datchet, which left America in July and unloaded at Batum in August, was filled exclusively with products contributed direct by western farmers, milled by the western milling association, transported—for the most part free from all freight charges—by the railroads, stored and handled at government warehouses without warehouse charges, and transported to Batum at a low ocean freight rate, which made the entire cost of the foodstuffs from the western farmer to the consumer in Armenia about one cent per pound.

"A cable received this week also announced the arrival of the 'Esther Dollar' of the Dollar Steamship Line, which carried five thousand tons of similar foodstuffs, contributed on the Pacific coast, and transported from Seattle, Portland, Los Angeles and San Francisco, through the Suez Canal to Constantinople, where it is now being unloaded into our warehouses." —From: Report of the executive secretary to the Committee, October 27, 1921.

Caucasus, and to Tabriz for help to Persia. By this time it was evident to the Committee that the extent of the needs had not been comprehended at first, and renewed appeals for funds were made to the American public. During 1916 the receipts rose to $2,404,000. During this period Mr. Vickrey accepted the position of secretary and began a vigorous promotional campaign.

The Rockefeller Foundation made large contributions during the first year, which were repeated as the increasing needs became known. The co-operation and regular support of the American Red Cross during the critical period of the war enabled the Committee greatly to extend its relief activities overseas. To January 1, 1918, the Red Cross gave the Committee $1,800,000. This was followed by other appropriations amounting to a total of $6,000,000.

The desperate situation overseas was better understood in 1917 and the receipts more than doubled those of the preceding year. In 1918 they again nearly doubled, amounting in that year to $7,022,000. Toward the end of 1918 a careful survey was made of the relief needs overseas. The armistice had opened all areas to new work and new workers. William B. Millar, general secretary of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, took charge of a special nation-wide campaign, co-operating with the secretary. During that year the unprecedented amount of $19,485,000 was received at the national office in New York.

In 1920 the amount received was	$13,052,000.
1921	7,270,000.
1922	10,714,000.
1923	8,508,000.

The outplacing of many of the children and the permanent settlement of a portion of the refugees reduced the needs overseas so that for the next two years the average of $4,500,000 was sufficient. As the work diminished the receipts dropped correspondingly. In 1928 and 1929 the

Committee ended public campaigning with sufficient funds in hand, taken together with the sponsorships and pledges of contributors across the country, to see the emergency work overseas satisfactorily completed and all the orphaned children placed in homes.

The largest receipts of any single year were in 1919 and the largest receipts for any month were in March, 1919, when the national office acknowledged $2,988,987.41. The average cash receipts of the organization for the fifteen years has been a little over $6,000,000 per year. For the five years of 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923 the average was almost $12,000,000.

While the United States was engaged in the World War, the American people contributed to the Near East more than ten millions of dollars. During that period drives of every kind were appealing to the American public: Billion Dollar Liberty Loans; Belgian and French Reliefs; Red Cross; United War Work, and scores of others. In spite of this the people found room in their hearts for the needy people of the Near East. During the eighteen months prior to America's entry into the war, the receipts were only $2,895,326. During the nineteen months of the war the Committee received $10,048,565.26.

Twenty-three states gave more than one million dollars, each; namely, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Four states gave seven million dollars or more: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California. Pennsylvania has to its credit $11,672,632 and New York $13,871,815. The three states of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Ohio gave over four million dollars each. These princely contributions demonstrated confidence in the organization and the work.

The funds were distributed chiefly in Turkey, Persia, the Russian Caucasus, Syria and Greece,[1] through the regular agencies.

The cash receipts of the national Committee in no way reveal the full resources which the Committee had at its disposal for meeting the relief needs in the Near East. It has already been stated that the principal relief agents until after the armistice were United States officials, ambassadors, ministers, consuls, missionaries, doctors, educators, and their native co-workers. These devoted themselves, unstintingly, to the work of relief, but without cost for their own support. The United States government and the missionary, educational and Y. M. C. A. organizations continued full salary and maintenance to their representatives throughout the entire period in which they were engaged in the work. In addition to the gratis services of the relief workers, missionary houses, school buildings, compounds and hospitals were devoted to relief purposes without any cost to the Committee, and medical supplies on hand at the outbreak of the war were used freely. The overseas administrative committees served without expense.

Another asset not appearing in the treasurer's report was the vast amount of free transportation granted by the railroads of the United States to relief workers and free freight on food, used clothing and other commodities. The United States government gave free warehousing for these commodities in Brooklyn, New Orleans and elsewhere, so that quantities of food, supplies and clothing, contributed by the people of this country, transported with little cost, became a substantial contribution and an asset to the organization.

[1] In round figures, the $90,000,000 disbursed from the national office prior to July 1, 1929, were distributed as follows: To the Caucasus, $28,017,000; Turkey, $20,551,000; Syria and Palestine, $12,527,000; Persia and Mesopotamia, $7,736,000; Greece, $5,709,000; other areas $667,000; for freight, personnel, warehousing and general relief expense $7,566,000; administration and other expenses $6,944,000.

The United States Navy, in 1919, furnished ships, without charge, for the transportation of workers and supplies and gave the free use of its radio service for administrative purposes overseas.

In 1919 the War Department transferred to the Near East Relief in France war supplies valued at $632,669. At the time of transfer this was recognized as a friendly act which was later confirmed by an act of Congress canceling the charge, thus making the amount a direct gift from the government.

While British forces were still in the Caucasus, the Near East Relief began its operations there for the refugees and children who had escaped from Persia and Turkey. The British officers co-operated in every way. They furnished supplies to the amount of $300,000. The cost of this item was later canceled by an act of Parliament, becoming a direct gift from the British military forces for relief under the American Committee.

The donation by the United States government of millions of dollars worth of food and supplies for use among the refugees and destitute populations in Russian Armenia, and distributed jointly by the American Relief Administration and the Near East Relief, is another asset which did not pass directly through the accounts of the Treasurer. Most of the distribution charges were paid by the Near East Relief. The Committee never could have met, with its own resources alone, the desperate situation in Armenia in 1919. The contribution from the government and the assistance of the American Relief Administration were invaluable.[1]

[1] The financial transactions involved in relieving the famine situation in the Caucasus in 1919 and 1920 were enormous. According to the figures of the American Relief Administration for that period the value of the food, other commodities and money given for the purpose of relief in Armenia, amounted to $28,795,426. Of this amount $11,155,591 came from the treasury of Near East Relief. The balance of contributions for that year, from sources outside the Near East Relief, was $17,639,835. This did not pass through the treasury of the relief organization but it did provide

Overseas there have been important contributions from different governments. The Turkish government in 1919 gave to the Committee quantities of wheat and barley from their own reserves. It was used to feed refugees. In the Russian Caucasus, the government, friendly and co-operative from the beginning, gave the free use of the extensive and highly valuable Russian army barrack buildings and equipment in Alexandropol and later in Kars and other places for orphanage purposes. The buildings in Alexandropol alone, when repaired, were capable of housing 15,000 orphans. In addition the same government made available to the Committee several thousand acres of land for agricultural development and education, and gave free transportation over its railroads for supplies and workers, customs exemption and free use of the post and telegraph.

In Greece, after the transfer of the children from Turkey and the refugees from Smyrna, the government turned over to the organization many of its large public buildings, one an imperial palace, another a great exhibition hall, both in the heart of the city of Athens, hotels, orphanages, barracks, the palace of the Kaiser in Corfu, and other buildings, to provide housing for the vast orphanage population brought into Greece from Turkey. When some of the summer hotels had to be evacuated the government gave to the organization valuable land on the Island of Syra, upon which the Committee erected a plant to accommodate 2,500 of the orphans evacuated from the private hotels. For over a year and a half the Greek government assigned a boat, the *Parnassus,* and furnished the fuel for the necessary transportation of children, refugees and supplies. Customs exemption, free railroad transportation, the use of the post and telegraph were granted.

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resources with which to meet the crisis in the Caucasus. This vast sum came from Congressional appropriations, the American Red Cross, the Commonwealth Fund and other sources.

It should also be recorded that many of the relief workers were volunteers, traveling and working at their own expense. This was another unlisted asset which could not be credited in dollars to the treasury.

All these various sources of help are quite outside the figures shown by the balance sheet of the treasurer and the auditor. Only a vague estimate can be placed upon the untabulatable contributions, but we are safe in saying that, if the Committee had been compelled to secure, at the ordinary market rate, the food supplies that have been freely given, pay rent for the use of buildings and land which have been put at its disposal and provide the support of the people who have rendered invaluable voluntary service, the total, for the fifteen years of operation, would exceed by $25,000,000, the figures given in the statement of the auditors. The Committee has used in its operations cash, gifts of commodities, concessions and recorded unpaid service, valued at more than $116,000,000.

The board of trustees of Near East Relief has been responsible for the collection and distribution of all funds and all administration both at home and overseas. The executive committee has had an enviable record of attendance at its monthly meetings and an almost unbroken continuity in its personnel. Its members have given unsparingly of time and direction to the affairs of the organization, without compensation, save the satisfaction that comes from work well done. They have pledged themselves, under the board of trustees, to continue until the full responsibility of the Committee had been discharged.

The relief funds have been a composite of a multitude of gifts, from the widow's mite to the rich man's hundreds of thousands. The friends of the work represent a true cross-section of American generosity and ideals. A locomotive engineer in Ohio sold his home and sent the proceeds, stipulating that they should be used for hungry children, for he

did not need the surplus money—his salary provided him with all that was necessary. An unnamed friend, in ill health himself, was especially generous to the sufferings of these people overseas and met each new refugee emergency with gifts of over a hundred thousand dollars. Edward S. Harkness, Arthur Curtiss James and Cleveland H. Dodge head the long list of generous supporters, and their hundreds of thousands have mingled with the pennies of school children in a ministry of healing and good will to children across the seas.

This financial statement is an acknowledgment and an expression of appreciation to the American people who so spontaneously and generously have rallied to support the work and who patiently and persistently have stood by in the completion of the program. The work would have been impossible without this service and these innumerable gifts. This chapter is a report of financial trusteeship to those investors in humanity and international relief.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONSERVATION PROGRAM

THE war was not over in the Near East until five years after the signing of the armistice. Technical peace was declared in the mid-summer of 1923, at Lausanne. The acute emergency refugee needs continued for more than a year and a half and the orphans, large numbers of whom had been recently accepted into the institutions, were still a responsibility. Reports from overseas urged the constructive fulfillment of America's opportunity toward the children and the refugees.[1]

Various members of the Committee and many intimate friends of the organization, who visited the Near East and saw parts of the work, recommended that the program be rounded out by completing the education of the thousands of orphans in the institutions and supervising their adjustment into life in each country. The Committee realized the value of independent judgment on so great a problem. They sought to know the attitude of the different governments. They desired a reappraisal of the personnel on the field. For these purposes they invited Senator Henry J. Allen to accept a commission to the Near East to review the conditions and the relief work and report his recommendations to the Committee. His observations covered each area and extended over several months. His report reaffirmed the high esteem of each government toward the organization

[1] For the purpose of closer co-ordinating the administration overseas with the executive committee and the program in America, Barclay Acheson, associate general secretary, was designated as director of overseas operations.

activities. It restated in strong terms the unmet needs and recommended the fulfillment of the relief and educational programs.

In 1925 the Committee again sought to reappraise its position and the relation of American philanthropic effort to the conditions and needs in the Near East. It appointed an independent survey committee to co-operate with other American agencies working in the Near East in the making of a comprehensive study of the entire situation.

Consequently, a non-Near East Relief survey committee was appointed to analyze the conditions in the Near East and report with recommendations. The organization took this bold decision, realizing that its program would be influenced significantly by the findings of this commission. As the compilation of data required the co-operation of Americans on the field and any complete report necessitated a review of the activities of all American agencies working in these countries, the various organizations with interests and work in the Near East were invited to join in the survey. The committee consisted of the following persons: Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, chairman; Dr. Paul Monroe, vice-chairman; Rev. George Stewart, secretary; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan; Cleveland E. Dodge; Dr. John H. Finley; Dr. R. R. Reeder; Dr. James Cannon, Jr.; Dr. John R. Mott; Dr. James I. Vance; and representatives appointed by organizations working in the Near East: Albert W. Staub, Near East Colleges; Charles V. Vickrey, Near East Relief; Rev. Ernest W. Riggs, American Board of Missions; Dr. Robert E. Speer, Presbyterian Board of Missions; Dr. James L. Barton, American College, Salonika; Dr. Dri A. Davis, Y. M. C. A.; Miss Katherine Olcott, Y. W. C. A.

The plan for the survey was prepared by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones. To carry on the actual work in the field, the executive committee secured the services of three investi-

gators: Dr. Frank A. Ross of Columbia University; Dr. C. Luther Fry of the Institute of Social and Religious Research; and Elbridge Sibley of Columbia University. Much preliminary work was done in the United States. Several months were spent overseas in the various areas in an intensive attempt to gather material in the eight countries being surveyed. Before the period of fact-finding was ended, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Dr. James H. Dillard of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, visited most of the countries covered by the survey and counseled with the staff of investigators on the field. A preliminary factual report was prepared under the instructions of the survey committee immediately after the workers' return to America. This statement was sent back to Constantinople, where a committee representative of all American agencies carefully reviewed the material and returned the report to the general committee in New York with the suggestions, "that friendly foreign effort can do much to stimulate, guide and hasten the commendable efforts of all peoples in the area to re-build their much-damaged social structures. We also believe that public opinion in America would welcome and support a broad co-operative effort for international brotherliness, scientific in method, international in scope, inter-denominational in its backing."

The survey committee, at its final meeting, took two official actions affecting the program of the Near East Relief and the future:

VOTED, Recognizing the important life-saving and reconstruction work that has already been done, involving expenditures during the past twelve years of approximately $100,000,000 and the sacrifice of the lives of a score or more of American relief workers, we feel that a proper conservation of this large investment requires continued care of the younger orphaned children and supervision of the older ones until they attain economic self-support and moral stability in the trying environment of the Near East. We, therefore, heartily approve and commend the

proposed financial campaign of Near East Relief as a means of providing adequate funds to meet present commitments and to conserve the large and strategic investment that has already been made.

Voted, That the following resolution, referring to ways and means by which unmet and continuing needs in the Near East reported by the survey committee may be met, be adopted by the Near East survey committee:

That, in view of the facts reported by the survey, particularly those pertaining to unmet and continuing needs, especially unmet needs in the field of vocational education, including agricultural, industrial and other similar types of education, the executive committee of the Near East Relief be requested, in consultation with the executive committee of the survey committee, to consider ways and means by which these needs may be met in so far as it is possible to do so through demonstration centers and the training of special or community leadership. The survey committee respectfully urges that the personnel, methods, and aims of any continuing work would necessarily differ widely from those that have served so effectively in the relief undertaking.

The full report of the survey, including important factual material on eight countries of the Near East: Armenia; Albania; Bulgaria; Greece; Turkey; Iraq; Palestine; and Syria, has been published in a volume issued by the Columbia University Press under the title, "The Near East and American Philanthropy."

The Committee, guided by the best counsel available, intimately in touch with the overseas problems and personnel, adhered to the policy of finishing the tasks and fully completing its emergency obligation to the children. The charter from Congress granted the Committee almost unlimited authority to meet emergency relief situations in the Near East over a period of twenty-five years. The officers were not unmindful of the fact that the Committee had come into being at a special time and for the primary object of alleviating suffering caused by the war. It was recognized that this purpose would be accomplished when the

full responsibility to the orphans had been discharged and the refugees settled. Accordingly, in the fall of 1927, these remaining reasonable obligations were summarized in terms of child years and of dollars. There were at that time 7,720 children in orphanages operated by the Committee in three distinctive areas. Six thousand and eighty-seven children were supported in orphanages partially maintained by local committees. Two thousand five hundred and seventy-six half orphans were living with widowed mothers and receiving a regular monthly subsidy in order that the home might be kept intact. In addition there were the boys and girls who had recently left the orphanage and were engaged in the first desperate struggle of earning a living. There were under supervision 17,516 ex-orphans. The Committee still had a responsibility, in whole or in part, for 33,899 children.

For the full orphans, still in institutions, it was necessary to provide maintenance and training until they were approximately sixteen years of age. Some were near this age limit and were finishing school, others were scarcely through the kindergarten.

The refugee situation was re-examined. The Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, appointed by the League of Nations and supplied with funds from a special Greek loan, was gradually providing permanent homes for the Greek refugees. Most of the Armenian refugees in Syria remained in the unhealthful, overcrowded, deplorable camps of Beirut and Aleppo. The commission of the League of Nations was without adequate funds, dependent upon voluntary gifts of private philanthropic international agencies. Progress toward the permanent solution of the unlivable conditions was lamentably slow. The Nestorian refugees from Persia, stranded in Iraq, most of them struggling for the meagerest existence near Mosul, were without adequate help to establish themselves in normal living conditions.

The trustees, at the annual meeting, January 4, 1928,

approved a final underwriting budget of $6,000,000 to be raised before June 30, 1929, it being understood that the Committee's first obligation was to the children and if sufficient funds were unavailable for all the work the refugee item would be withdrawn.

The designated sum was large, more than twice the previous annual gifts and pledges. Old friends gave generously but comparatively few doubled their gifts. A large number promised to contribute annually as long as the need existed. Many made pledges to provide for individual children or special projects. Few subscriptions were received from persons who had not been interested before in the work.

The state co-operating committees, the local and regional sponsors, volunteer workers and speakers, the press and a host of friends supported this special effort to provide adequate funds to underwrite the remaining obligations overseas.

For five years a special Golden Rule committee had sponsored the observance of the first Sunday in December as a day for sacrificial giving to under-privileged children in the Near East. Golden Rule Sunday, 1928, was a special stimulus to the completion campaign. Having rendered a notable service to the children in the Near East for five years the Golden Rule committee believed there was an opportunity for world-wide service, extending into the future. At their request and under the leadership of Mr. Vickrey, they were released from obligation and organic relationship with the Near East Relief and incorporated an independent organization, The Golden Rule Foundation.

At the annual meeting of the trustees, January, 1929, it was necessary to revise downward the original budget. Twelve months of the campaign clearly showed the full amount was unobtainable. There had been little response to the refugee appeal. The larger portion of this item was

eliminated. The funds available for the orphanage program were cut and instructions issued to hasten the outplacement of children from the institutions. The final budget was reduced to a total of $5,000,000.

On June 30, 1929, at the close of the eighteen months campaign to underwrite the Committee's overseas obligations, a total of $4,475,522.05 had been raised. Some gifts had been designated for special children or scholarships and some assurances had been received of the continuation of individual gifts. Some friends had made provision in their wills for expressing their abiding interest in the children of the Near East. Bequests amounting to more than $50,000 have already been received and administered in accordance with the wishes of the donors. Provision has been made by the Committee for the trusteeship of such gifts which frequently have been left as special memorials, evidencing a deep interest in the welfare of the children and peoples of the Near East.

The number of individual receipts issued, 162,391, during the last twelve months of the campaign is indicative of the persistent and extended interest. Many of these single receipts represented collections from schools, churches, Sunday schools and organizations, greatly enlarging the number of participating individuals.

The administration of the funds provided by the campaign required detailed consideration. There was the problem of terminating pieces of work, of providing adequate facilities and training for the remaining orphans, of determining a constructive program that would best demonstrate American methods of health, social and child welfare. The executive committee appointed a sub-committee comprised of three of its own members and five persons who had been largely responsible for the success of the Near East survey. This conservation committee consisted of Cleveland E. Dodge, chairman, Edwin M. Bulkley, James L. Barton,

Otis W. Caldwell, Thomas Jesse Jones, O. S. Morgan, Paul Monroe, Albert Staub and Barclay Acheson, secretary. This new committee served as a guide and counsel to the executive committee, rendering full and regular reports and making administrative recommendations. Its responsibilities were increased gradually. The studies which the conservation committee were asked to make on current conditions in the Near East revealed great unmet needs outside the emergency orphan requirements, especially in the vast, almost untouched, rural districts of many countries. Conversations with local officials, inspection of village homes or shelters of ex-orphans, requests for American cooperation, the demonstration of American methods of welfare work and the care of the handicapped were reported verbally and in writing from overseas.

The executive committee, after a careful review of all the facts, the continuing need in the Near East and the attitude of the friends and supporters in America, directed that the question of a new organization, as recommended by the survey, be considered by the board of trustees at the annual meeting, February 6, 1930. After the question was frankly and fully discussed the trustees voted unanimously that:

> The Near East Relief and its predecessors were formed primarily as emergency organizations. The accomplishment of that primary purpose will have been attained when the children now dependent upon Near East Relief have been placed in safe self-support.
>
> There are coming to us persistent and urgent appeals from the countries where our emergency operations have been carried on to continue many of the forms of work hitherto recognized as emergency but now under more settled conditions increasingly of a non-emergency character.
>
> An impartial survey committee, after thorough investigation, has confirmed the fact that there are great unmet needs and opportunities in the Near East and urged the executive com-

mittee of Near East Relief to consider ways and means by which these needs may be met; and our conservation committee, after fifteen months of study as to the practicability of attempting to meet these needs, has reported favorably.

Voted, That in consideration of the unanimous action of the executive committee, and after due consideration of the reports of our survey committee and the conservation committee, and convinced of the importance of continuing operations in the Near East in response to the urgent appeals from all the countries with which Near East Relief has had such helpful co-operative relations in the past; we do hereby authorize and request the conservation committee of Near East Relief to take steps for the incorporation of an independent body, incorporated for the purpose of meeting the unmet needs as outlined in part by the survey, and direct our executive officers and employed staff to co-operate in every way possible, it being understood that the new incorporation is to do what we regard as imperatively needed work urgently requested by people in the Near East and a substantial percentage of our constituency in the United States; and, further, that Near East Relief shall encourage and facilitate the new organization if and when such an organization has been created by the transfer of such organizational momentum and good will as the need of the new work requires and circumstances permit from time to time to an extent to be determined by the executive committee of Near East Relief.

Following this action of the board of trustees of Near East Relief the members of the conservation committee proceeded to the formation of a separate incorporated entity, the Near East Foundation [1] to meet the unmet needs of unserved peoples as outlined in part by the survey and to safeguard the lives and future of children once under the care of the Relief Committee. The action of the board of trustees assures the closest co-operation between the two organizations, and the fullest confidence

[1] Near East Relief requested Cleveland E. Dodge and seven associates to undertake this continuing responsibility. Those who with Mr. Dodge have accepted this challenge are: Dr. James L. Barton, chairman of the board of trustees; Edwin M. Bulkley, chairman of the executive committee; Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, director of the Lincoln Institute; Dr.

and support and undoubtedly the program will commend itself to the friends of the relief work whose large investments in humanity in this part of the world have created an abiding interest, expressed through service, in these unserved peoples.

The conservation program culminated fifteen years of relief activities. The work of Near East Relief will be completed with creditable honor to all those who have so generously shared in its responsibilities. The funds on hand and the outstanding pledges in July 1, 1930, insure the adequate care of all children still dependent upon the Committee and supervision of the ex-orphans until they have become adjusted in self-support, and in addition will further alleviate the lingering, unsolved refugee problems.

The story of Near East Relief at home and overseas has been and continues to be the record of service, ideals and generosity of America recreated into the lives of grateful peoples molding and leavening a new Near East.

Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Dr. Paul Monroe, director of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University; Dr. O. S. Morgan, Department of Agriculture, Columbia University; and Albert W. Staub, American director, Near East College Association. They have incorporated as Near East Foundation, without funds but with the strongest possible hope of success, in that there is every reason to believe that friends will support them in this great endeavor.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX

"The Story of Near East Relief" has been prepared at the request of the Board of Trustees as a record and an interpretation of fifteen years of American humanitarian service to the people of the Near East. The spirit of all those who have shared in this work illumines every page.

During the entire period, the destinies of the organization have been guided by the clear vision, deep sympathy and experienced hand of our beloved Chairman, Dr. James L. Barton. At the earnest request of the Trustees, he has edited the record of the organizational achievements after months of painstaking labor, and he is now revisiting the Near East and reviewing the Committee's activities overseas.

This story would be incomplete without an expression on behalf of the Trustees of their indebtedness to Dr. Barton for his statesmanlike leadership, his unwavering faith in a new Near East, his insistence on offering the best that America has to give out of its experience to those who still live in the homesteads of the race, his benign, brave and ever hopeful companionship and his infinite capacity for friendship with all peoples.

JOHN H. FINLEY,
Vice-Chairman, Board of Trustees.

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INCORPORATION WITH CHARTER AND BY-LAWS

The responsibilities and operations of the Committee by 1919 had assumed such proportions, both nationally and internationally, as to make it desirable to change the form of organization from a volunteer committee to a corporation. The officers applied to Congress for a national charter. In presenting the official request it was stated that the Committee for Relief in the Near East was represented by responsible committees in practically every state and included all parts of the country in its activities. Furthermore, the organization overseas was dealing directly at the time with nine different countries in the Near East and was co-operating with other governments and international relief organizations. A Congressional Charter, under these conditions, would be of special significance and value. After a careful study of the application and consideration by Congress a charter was granted August 6, 1919, and signed by President Wilson, incorporating the Near East Relief.

In accordance with the provisions of the charter an annual report, covering the activities, the receipts and expenditures, of the corporation, in the United States and in the Near East, is submitted to Congress and embodied in the Congressional Record. The charter gives the corporation a semi-official standing. It compels a scrupulous observance of administrative policies and operating regulations. It has inspired confidence in the organization and secured the generous co-operation of the Department of State, War Department, Navy Department, Shipping Board and other governmental agencies. By special Act of Congress certain surplus war supplies were appropriated to the Committee, for the work overseas.

The present Board of Trustees and the friends of the corporation are deeply indebted to the Government for the Congressional Charter and the continued co-operation of the government officials.

The Act of Incorporation is as follows:

[PUBLIC—No. 25—66TH CONGRESS]

[S. 180.]

An Act To Incorporate Near East Relief

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following persons, namely, James L. Barton, Cleveland H. Dodge, Henry Morgenthau, Edwin M. Bulkley, Alexander J. Hemphill, Charles R. Crane, William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Abram I. Elkus, Charles W. Eliot, Harry Pratt Judson, Charles E. Beury, Arthur J. Brown, John B. Calvert, William I. Chamberlain, Robert J. Cuddihy, Cleveland E. Dodge, William T. Ellis, James Cardinal Gibbons, David H. Greer, Harold A. Hatch, William I. Haven, Myron T. Herrick, Hamilton Holt, Frank W. Jackson, Arthur Curtiss James, Frederick Lynch, Vance C. McCormick, Charles S. Macfarland, Henry B. F. Macfarland, William B. Millar, John R. Mott, Frank Mason North, George A. Plimpton, Philip Rhinelander, William Jay Schieffelin, George T. Scott, Albert Shaw, William Sloane, Edward Lincoln Smith, Robert Eliot Speer, James M. Speers, Oscar S. Straus, Charles V. Vickrey, Harry A. Wheeler, Stanley White, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Talcott Williams, and Stephen S. Wise, their associates and successors duly chosen, are hereby incorporated and declared to be a body corporate of the District of Columbia by the name of Near East Relief and by that name shall be known and have perpetual succession, with the powers, limitations, and restrictions herein contained.

SEC. 2. That the object for which said corporation is incorporated shall be to provide relief and to assist in the repatriation, rehabilitation, and reestablishment of suffering and dependent people of the Near East and adjacent areas; to provide for the care of orphans and widows and to promote the social, economic, and industrial welfare of those who have been rendered destitute, or dependent directly or indirectly, by the vicissitudes of war, the cruelties of men, or other causes beyond their control.

SEC. 3. That the direction and management of the affairs of the corporation, and the control of its property and funds, shall be vested in a board of trustees, to be composed of the following individuals: James L. Barton, Cleveland H. Dodge, Henry Morgenthau, Edwin M. Bulkley, Alexander J. Hemphill, Charles R. Crane, William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Abram I. Elkus, Charles W. Eliot, Harry Pratt Judson, Charles E. Beury, Arthur J. Brown, John B. Calvert, William I. Chamberlain, Robert J. Cuddihy, Cleveland E. Dodge, William T. Ellis, James Cardinal Gibbons, David H. Greer, Harold A. Hatch, William I. Haven, Myron T. Herrick, Hamilton Holt, Frank W. Jackson, Arthur Curtiss James, Frederick Lynch, Vance C. McCormick, Charles S. Macfarland, Henry B. F. Macfarland, William B. Millar, John R. Mott, Frank Mason North, George A. Plimpton, Philip Rhinelander, William Jay Schieffelin, George T. Scott, Albert Shaw, William Sloane, Edward Lincoln Smith, Robert Eliot Speer, James M. Speers, Oscar S. Straus, Charles V. Vickrey, Harry A. Wheeler, Stanley White, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Talcott Williams, and Stephen S. Wise, who shall constitute the first board of trustees and constitute the members of the corporation. Vacancies occur-

ring by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled by the remaining trustees in such manner as the by-laws shall prescribe, and the persons so elected shall thereupon become trustees and also members of the corporation.

SEC. 4. That the principal office of the corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia, but offices may be maintained and meetings of the corporation or of the trustees and committees may be held in other places, such as the by-laws may from time to time fix.

SEC. 5. That the said trustees shall be entitled to take, hold, and administer any securities, funds or property which may be transferred to them for the purposes and objects hereinbefore enumerated by the existing and unincorporated American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, and such other funds or property as may at any time be given, devised, or bequeathed to them or to such corporation, for the purposes of the trust; with full power from time to time to adopt a common seal, to appoint officers, whether members of the board of trustees or otherwise, and such employees as may be deemed necessary for carrying on the business of the corporation, and at such salaries or with such remuneration as they may think proper; and full power to adopt by-laws and such rules or regulations as may be necessary to secure the safe and convenient transaction of the business of the corporation.

SEC. 6. That as soon as may be possible after the passage of this Act a meeting of the trustees hereinbefore named shall be called by Cleveland H. Dodge, Henry Morgenthau, Abram I. Elkus, Edwin M. Bulkley, Alexander J. Hemphill, William B. Millar, George T. Scott, James L. Barton, and Charles V. Vickrey, or any six of them, at the borough of Manhattan, in the city of New York, by notice served in person or by mail, addressed to each trustee at his place of residence; and the said trustees named herein, or a majority thereof, being assembled, shall organize and proceed to adopt by-laws, to elect officers, and generally to organize the said corporation.

SEC. 7. That a meeting of the incorporators, their associates, or successors, shall be held once in every year after the year of incorporation at such time and place as shall be prescribed in the by-laws, when the annual reports of the officers and executive boards shall be presented and members of the executive board elected for the ensuing year. Special meetings of the corporation may be called upon such notice as may be prescribed.

SEC. 8. That a copy of the constitution and by-laws and of all amendments thereto shall be filed with the Congress when adopted, and on or before the 1st day of April each year said corporation shall make and transmit to the Congress a report of its proceedings for the year ending December 31 preceding, including in such report the names and residences of its officers, and a full and itemized account of all receipts and expenditures.

SEC. 9. That the corporation shall have no power to issue certificates of stock or declare or pay any dividends, or otherwise distribute to its members any of its property, or the proceeds therefrom, or from its operations. On dissolution of the corporation otherwise than by Act of Congress the property shall escheat to the United States.

SEC. 10. That all members and officers of the corporation and of its governing body may reside in or be citizens of any place within the United States.

SEC. 11. That the franchise herein granted shall terminate at the expiration of twenty-five years from the date of the approval of the Act; and that Congress reserves the right to repeal, alter, or amend this act at any time.

Approved, August 6, 1919.

BY-LAWS

The By-Laws of the corporation filed with Congress, under which the corporation has acted since incorporation, are as follows:

ARTICLE I

THE TRUSTEES

SECTION 1. The property of this corporation shall be held, its business managed and controlled by a Board of not more than sixty trustees who shall hold office for three years, except that the first board of trustees named in the Act of Incorporation shall by lot be divided into three classes, one-third serving until after the annual meeting hereinafter provided for in 1920, one-third until after the annual meeting of 1921, and one-third until after the annual meeting of 1922 or until their successors are elected.

SEC. 2. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the trustees by ballot, and upon nomination by the nominating committee.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The principal office of the corporation shall be in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, but executive offices may be maintained in New York City and such other centers as may from time to time be designated by the Board of Trustees or the Executive Committee. The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be held the first Friday of January each year in the City of New York, unless otherwise arranged by the Executive Committee.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the Executive Committee at such place as the committee may fix upon by notice served personally upon, or mailed to the usual address of each trustee ten days prior to the meeting, as the names and addresses of such trustees appear upon the books of the Corporation.

SEC. 3. Special meetings, however, shall be called by the chairman, in the same manner, upon the written request of five members of the Board.

SEC. 4. Eleven members of any duly called meeting shall constitute a quorum of the Board of Trustees.

SEC. 5. The order of business at the annual meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be as follows:

1. Calling of the Roll.
2. Reading of the Notice of the Meeting.
3. Reading of the Minutes of the last Annual or Special Meeting.
4. Report of the Officers.
5. Reports of Committees.
6. Election of Officers and Trustees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. Miscellaneous business.

ARTICLE III

Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Board of Trustees of the Corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, a vice-Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer. At the first meeting of the Corporation, and thereafter at each annual meeting, the Board of Trustees shall choose from their number, by a majority vote, a Chairman, a vice-Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the Chairman to preside at all meetings of the Trustees. If the Chairman be absent or unable to act, the vice-Chairman shall preside.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep the minutes of all meetings of the members of the Corporation in a proper book provided for that purpose. He shall attend to the giving and serving of all notices of meetings of the Trustees. He shall sign and execute all instruments in the name of the Corporation, when authorized so to do by the Board of Trustees, or by the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Corporation.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer, under the direction of the Executive Committee, to have the care and custody of all funds and property of the corporation, and to deposit the same in such banks, trust company or depositories as the Board of Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate. He shall receive and disburse moneys and perform all the acts incident to the position of Treasurer. He shall render a statement of his accounts to the Executive Committee as it shall require the same, and shall make a report at each meeting of the Trustees. He shall enter, or cause to be entered, in proper books of accounts to be kept by him for that purpose, full and accurate accounts of all moneys received and paid out on account of the Corporation.

ARTICLE IV

Auditor

The Trustees shall annually designate and authorize the employment of a Certified Public Accountant who shall give continuous supervision to the accounts of the Corporation, making an annual report of audit to the Trustees, and making such other ad interim reports as the Executive Committee may require.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

Section 1. There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of not less than seven and not more than eleven Trustees elected annually by the Board of Trustees by ballot.

Sec. 2. On or before November 15th of each year, a Nominating Committee, consisting of three persons appointed by the Executive Committee, shall send notice by mail to all members of the Corporation of the vacancies to be filled at the ensuing annual meeting, inviting suggestions of names of persons to be nominated as members of the Executive Committee. The nomination of this Committee shall be voted upon by the Board of Trustees. (Any trustee may place in nomination with the nominating Committee the name of any other Trustee for office or for membership on the Executive Committee.)

Sec. 3. During the intervals between the meetings of the Board, the Executive Committee shall exercise all the powers of the Board of Trustees in the management and direction of the business and conduct of the affairs of the Corporation.

The Executive Committee may, at its discretion, appoint such subcommittees or commissions and such assistant officers of the Corporation as it may deem necessary or desirable for the proper transaction of the business of the Corporation.

Sec. 4. Whenever any vacancy shall occur in the Executive Committee, or in any office of the Corporation, by death, resignation or otherwise, it shall be filled by appointment by the Executive Committee for the remainder of the current year.

Sec. 5. The Executive Committee may hold its meetings and have an office or offices and keep the books of the Corporation at such place or places as it may from time to time determine.

Sec. 6. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, or if there be less than a quorum present at any duly called meeting, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, or sine die.

ARTICLE VI

The seal of the Corporation shall be circular in form and shall have inscribed in the margin, the following words:

NEAR EAST RELIEF

The Secretary shall be the custodian of the seal of the Corporation, and shall affix it to such documents as the Trustees of the Executive Committe shall direct.

ARTICLE VII

These by-laws may be amended at any annual or special meeting of the Board of Trustees by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided written notice of the proposed amendment shall have been served personally upon, or mailed to the usual address of each member of the Board ten days prior to the meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

(Adopted at the Annual Meeting of Feb. 27, 1923)

Limited State and other Advisory Committees may be created by authority of, responsible to, and under the direction of, the Executive Committee of the Near East Relief with such powers of conference and of collecting funds as do not conflict with law and the powers of the Corporation. Such committees shall have no power or authority to bind the Corporation or to incur obligations on its behalf without written authority from the Near East Relief.

HURDMAN AND CRANSTOUN

Public Accountants

350 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

June 1, 1930.

Dr. James L. Barton, Chairman,
Trustees, Near East Relief,
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

In accordance with your request we submit below statements covering the operations of Near East Relief and its predecessor organizations up to June 30, 1929. A brief outline of the extent to which the figures submitted have been subjected to audit will be found later in this report.

The collection of contributions throughout the country has been effected through State and Regional offices. These have deducted their operating expenses from collections and have remitted the available balances to the National Headquarters.

The total amount so remitted for general relief, together with the gross collections of the Headquarters, has amounted to	$83,773,693.98
in addition to which there have been contributions for transmission to specified beneficiaries aggregating	4,120,278.73
making a total relief income (net) of	87,893,972.71
There have also been contributed for the purpose of defraying operating expenses amounts aggregating	2,076,321.25
bringing the total contributions (net) to	89,970,293.96
To these contributions must be added receipts from interest and other sources amounting to	1,175,918.08
and making a total income to the National Headquarters of	91,146,212.04

Out of this income the Society has remitted to overseas areas for use in relief work and administration the following amounts:

To Caucasus Area	$28,017,554.80	
" Constantinople—Turkish Area	20,551,696.54	
" Athens—Greek Area	5,709,087.84	
" Syria—Palestine Area	12,527,957.39	
" Persia—Mesopotamia Area	7,736,176.75	
For Refugee Transfers and Bulgaria, Egypt, etc.	667,328.96	
Miscellaneous Items	316,341.50	
		$75,526,143.78
Freight and other expenses incurred by the Headquarters in the remittance of the above have amounted to		7,085,660.44
making total advances for relief and expenses incidental thereto of		82,611,804.22
It has also advanced working capital to the areas amount-to		165,000.00
		82,776,804.22
The National Headquarters expense for administration, publicity and field department supervision has amounted to		6,944,378.11
making total expenditures and advances of		89,721,182.33
and leaving in the National Headquarters in the form of cash, investments, furniture, etc., an amount of		$1,425,029.71

The amounts of gross contributions and relief administered, as shown above, do not include any valuation for grain contributed by and distributed in the Near East for the United States Grain Corporation and for the American Relief Administration.

Our audit has consisted of the verification of the National Headquarters expenditures and of the receipt of income at the Headquarters. We have made no audit of the expenses of State and Regional offices nor have we verified expenditures made under appropriations of the Executive Committee out of funds advanced to the overseas areas. In 1920 we conducted an extensive examination into the accounts of many of the overseas areas with the object of reconciling outstanding differences with the National Headquarters and of establishing a basis for more adequate accounting for relief expenses than had been possible in the conditions existing prior to that time. We understand that since that examination the overseas accounts have been audited regularly by Russell and Company, Chartered Accountants, who have rendered reports to the National Headquarters.

Respectfully submitted,

HURDMAN AND CRANSTOUN.

STATEMENTS FROM THE PRESS

The Near East Relief has been indebted to the generosity of the Press to an extent that is beyond computation. The attitude of the editors and writers has been uniformly friendly and co-operative. The success of the organization has been due chiefly to the way the Press has participated in the work and reported the conditions and needs, as well as the results achieved overseas. The Trustees and officers record with a profound sense of gratitude their indebtedness to the entire Press.

When the conservation campaign for underwriting funds for the emergency program of the Near East Relief terminated on June 30, 1929, the corporation announced that no further public appeals would be made and that its responsibilities overseas would be completed with the funds which the public had contributed and with the unpaid pledges and sponsorships. This statement and other information was released to the Press on the 8th of July. No record is available of the full use of this release. The quotations are taken from the few editorials which came to the attention of the Committee, not a single one of which was critical of the Committee or its activities. Expressions of approval and comment repeated by several papers are recorded only from one journal. This recent editorial reference in the papers of the country testifying to the accomplishments of the relief work is recorded as evidence of the unbroken co-operation of the Press with the organization and its activities.

New York *Morning World,* July 8, 1929.

"Nothing accomplished since the war, nothing in which so many Americans as individuals have participated, better illustrates that spirit of true philanthropy."

Chicago *Post,* July 8, 1929.

"The Near East Relief has created and stored up an incalculable measure of goodwill for America. It has developed in lands, sadly needing efficient citizenship and trained leaders, thousands of young men and young women who will continue to give of their service to the cause of human welfare and peace."

Boston *Monitor,* July 8, 1929.

"This work of philanthropy has been looked upon in those countries as representing the best spirit of America and has won for America and Americans a place of special appreciation and respect."

Seattle *Times,* July 8, 1929.

"Thousands of waifs, orphaned by war or pestilence are today self-supporting and self-respecting young men and women, and an honor to their native lands and to the Americans who supplied the funds for their upbringing. Many of them are holding responsible positions in Soviet Armenia, Syria, Egypt and Greece."

Houston *Dispatch,* July 8, 1929.

"It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the accomplishments of the Near East Relief represent the greatest piece of charity, viewed from the standpoint of sustained effort, ever witnessed in this country or in any other country."

New York *Times,* July 9, 1929—"Salvaging a Generation."

"This volunteer committee has been the medium of a great humane service which will be one of the outstanding incidents in the history of a half century that has seen the most extensive destruction and devastation of all centuries but also the most widespread manifestations of mercy."

Hartford *Times,* July 9, 1929.

"Words are insufficient to praise adequately this good samaritanism. Many Hartford contributors shared in it and must find deep satisfaction and gratitude in the inspiring story of humanitarian effort the success of the Near East Relief has revealed."

Charleston *Gazette,* W. Va., July 9, 1929.

"Welfare work among children always produced more permanent results than that carried on among adults. The latter have a tendency to slip back into the old ways of living once an emergency has passed. But with children it is different. Their minds are more impressionable and they take to new ways readily and absorb new ideas which completely change their lives. Near East children have demonstrated the truth of this statement."

Rock Island, Ill., *Argus,* July 10, 1929.

"The story of Near East Relief is written in the lives that have been saved and transformed. The tears of weeping widows have been wiped away and thousands of little children have been rescued from a fate worse than death, and will become useful members of society."

Elizabeth, N. J., *Journal,* July 10, 1929.

"Thousands of persons in Russian Armenia, in Persia, in Turkey, in Syria and in Greece, think of America in terms of the Near East Relief activities."

Harrisburg, Pa., *Telegraph,* July 10, 1929.

"It has been a marvelous piece of work—the greatest single charity in the history of the world."

Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* July 10, 1929.

"The Nation gave readily and freely to help those who could not help themselves and their gratitude and goodwill will endure when the horrors of war are become a dim nightmare of the past."

Wilkes-Barre *Record,* July 10, 1929.

"Americans may be proud of what their generosity accomplished in the byways of the war's progress."

Pittsburgh, Pa., *Press,* July 10, 1929.

"The achievement is the concrete answer to the oft-heard cry that America is only commercially-minded and has no time for thought over the suffering of the rest of the world."

Lexington, Ky., *Leader,* July 12, 1929.

"The results of the work will outlast the life and the memory of its agent."

Syracuse, N. Y., *Post Standard,* July 16, 1929.

"As the steward of funds committed to it, the accounting rendered by the organization affords gratification to all who aided in its work with their contributions."

Yankton, S. D., *Dakotan,* July 18, 1929.

"It was prompted solely by a sense of responsibility and brotherhood and it constitutes the brightest chapter not only of the war period but of all history. As the promoter and director of this humanitarian work, the United States has given the world a fine exemplification of practical Christianity."

Monroe, Michigan, *News,* July 19, 1929.

"The work of Near East Relief is a monument to the best spirit of America, a lasting testimonial to a national tendency that even when charity is undertaken it should be developed on big business lines."

New Castle, Pa., *News,* July 23, 1929.

"In the entire record of war and post-war activity there is entered no work less selfish nor more worthy, nor any which, instituted under such tremendous handicaps, comes nearer to a complete realization of its aims."

Raleigh *News & Observer,* July 23, 1929.

"No relief in history has directly saved so many lives and put so many children on their feet and the management has won and deserved the thanks of humanity."

OVERSEAS PERSONNEL

The relief workers during the first four years of the Committee's activities were Americans who remained in the Near East part or all the period of the war. They were affiliated with the diplomatic service and with educational, medical and missionary institutions and work. Members of the diplomatic corps are not recorded here, as their service to the relief program is referred to earlier in the story. All the organizations having personnel in the Near East co-operated fully with the Committee. Their representatives and workers overseas served as distributive and administrative agents without expense to the relief funds. After the war, it was possible to send commissions and workers to the various areas. Personnel were enlisted in America and assigned to duty in the Near East. Many workers who had served during the war remained and became members of the Committee's overseas staff. Several members of the medical staff were representatives from the American Women's Hospitals. The members of the special mission to the Caucasus in 1919-20, serving under Colonel William Haskell, were army officers on temporary leave.

This record of overseas personnel is necessarily incomplete. There have been many others who have served well for a comparatively short period of time, having been enlisted overseas after the war and remaining only for the immediate emergency following the Armistice. There have been a host of individuals who carried on inconspicuously, mingling with their daily tasks for their own organization a large measure of extra helpfulness to the refugees and children. Unnamed wives have served no less devotedly and worthily than their husbands.

When personnel were first enlisted after the war, only a short term of service was required by agreement, as the Committee anticipated an early peace treaty, the rehabilitation of the refugees and the completion of the relief program. When conditions necessitated the continuation of the Committee's activities, many of the personnel renewed their agreements. This provided an effective continuity to the relief work overseas.

The Trustees are deeply indebted to this company of faithful, loyal and efficient personnel who have with honor represented America to the people of the Near East and who, by their works, have made a large portion of this story of achievement overseas possible.

OVERSEAS PERSONNEL

Acheson, Barclay
Adams, J. H.
*Adams, Dr. Walter
Adamson, Katherine M. B.
Addison, Sarah R.
Ahlers, Caroline C.
Aide, Lewis G.
*Ainslie, Kate
Airgood, Paul W.
Aitkenhead, William C.
*Allen, Annie T.
*Allen, E. T.
Allen, Harold B.
Allen, Pauline (now Mrs. Hollowell Davis)
Ambler, Paul G.
Ambrose, Walter P.
America, Frank
Anderson, Mrs. Byrtene C.
Anderson, Elizabeth
Anderson, Frances (now Mrs. Richard E. White)
Anderson, Russell H.
Anderson, Webster A.
Andress, Mary Vail
Anthony, A. Gertrude
Appelbee, Francis B.
Applegate, Enoch R.
Archer, Laird W.
Archer, Mary B. (Mrs. Laird W.)
Archibald, W. W.
Arnold, Major Davis G.
Arroll, James O.
*Atkinson, Dr. Henry H.
Atkinson, Mrs. Henry H.
Augsberger, Chris
Austen, Albert W. S.
Austin, Mrs. Nettie Hall (now Mrs. O. Hudson)
Ayer, Carleton S.
Babcock, Franklin
*Bacon, Prof. Arthur
*Badgley, Capt. Oliver K.
Bailey, Charles E.
Bailey, Miriam A.
Baker, Ray C.
Balderson, Ferris E.
*Barber, Alice S.
Barker, Mrs. Annie
Barker, H. Constance
Barton, Harold B.
Bass, Belle B.
Bassett, Mrs. Edna A.
Baugh, Dorothy Esther (now Mrs. Toler)
Baumgardner, H. S.
Beach, Cora Louise
Beach, Joseph W.
Beck, Mrs. Georgia
Bell, Dr. H. W.
Bell, Julia
Bender, Ray F.
Benson, Nancy (now Mrs. R. R. Reger)
Berg, Matilda L.
Berry, Gordon L.
Betts, Paul G.
Bigley, Loretta
Bill, Pauline
Billings, Florence
Bispham, Anna
Bissell, Clara L.
Blackman, Blanche A.
Blackwell, Grace W.
Blakely, Ellen M.
Blakeslee, Clarissa R.
Blatchford, Edward W.
Bliss, Amy A.
*Bliss, President Howard S.
*Bliss, Mrs. Howard
Block, Emily Ray (Mrs.)

Blythe, Dr. Rowland P.
Bobb, Paul F.
Boberg, Stanley G.
Bond, Louise
†Booth, Brig. Gen. Ewing E., Deputy High Commissioner
Borel, Lucie
Bower, Thomas H.
*Boyce, Arthur C.
Bradley, Sabra C.
Briggs, James Elmer, Jr.
Bristol, Elsey L.
Brodhead, Mary (now Mrs. Fred Prosser)
*Brown, Charlotte
*Brown, Prof. Julius A.
Brown, Maud Elizabeth (Mrs.)
Brown, Mary M.
Brown, Milton D.
Brown, Phyllis H. (now Mrs. Cecil Tebbutt)
Brown, Wendell W.
Brownell, Anna A. (Mrs. M. E.)
Brownell, Dr. M. E.
Brush, Dr. Barton W.
Buckalew, Robert S.
Buckley, Frances S.
Burdick, George A.
Burgess, Edward W.
*Burgess, Mary E.
Burke, Thomas L.
Burt, Mrs. Amy Anthony
Bury, Elizabeth A.
Bustany, Faris M.

Caldwell, Margie Lin
*Caldwell, Prof. Samuel
Campbell, Elizabeth L.
Campbell, Stella M.
Capps, Priscilla
Carr, Alice
Carr, Dr. Gladys (now Mrs. William B. Patterson)
Carroll, Charles
Carruth, Clara L. (now Mrs. O. G. Reuman)
Carter, Isabel H.
Ceder, Georgiana D.
Chaffee, Edmund B.
Chaffee, Mrs. Edmund B.
Chamberlain, Simon
Chambers, Dorothea N. (now Mrs. D. C. Blaisdell)
*Chambers, William Nesbit
Chambers, Mrs. William Nesbit
Chapman, Florence
Chater, Melville
Chickering, Adella H.
Chilcott, Ida D.
Chilton, Mrs. Rose
Christiansen, Albert L.
Christie, Jean
*Christie, Thomas D.
Churchill, Helen G.
Clap, Beulah
Clark, Alice
*Clark, Dr. C. E.
Clark, Charles Robinson
Clark, Lilly W. (Mrs. Charles R.)
Clark, Helen (now Mrs. Wilson Fowle)
Clark, Hugh E.
Clarke, Mabel
Cleland, Mrs. Paul
Clements, Colin C.
*Close, Prof. Harold
Coit, Gertrude
Colby, Emma F.
*Cochran, Dr. J. P.
*Cold, Edith
*Cole, Mary E.
*Cole, Nellie A.
Collier, Edward M.
Collins, Lowell B.
*Compton, Carl C.
*Compton, Mrs. Ruth M.
†Connatser, Capt. William R.
Connolly, Joel
Cook, Elinor M. (now Mrs. Robert H. McDowell)
Cook, William E.
Cooley, Margaret
Coombs, Col. James P.
Conyne, Marguerite
Corning, Sarah
Coughlin, Mary E. (now Mrs. Axel S. Peterson)
*Count, Elmer E.
Crane, Adelaide E.

Crane, Z. Marshall
*Crawford, Lindon S.
*Crawford, Mrs. Lindon S.
*Crawford, Prof. Steward
Critchlow, Mrs. Roy
Cronin, William J.
*Crothers, James C.
Crow, Clinton W.
Cruikshank, M. P. (Mrs.)
Crutcher, James H.
Curry, Gladys
Curt, Walter E.
*Cushman, Emma D.
Custer, Raymond M.
Custer, Ida K. (Mrs. R. M.)
Cyr, Marie E.

*Dale, Mrs. Gerald
†Daley, Col. Edmund L.
*Dana, C. A.
Dando, Anna (now Mrs. H. Parmelee)
Dangerfield, J. E.
Daniels, Anna L. (now Mrs. G. W. Tunis)
Darbishire, Robert S.
Dasey, Miriam K.
Daum, W. Fletcher
Daum, Sue May (Mrs. W. Fletcher)
†Davenport, Major Walter P.
Davidson, Mildred E.
Davidson, Reed M.
*Davies, Annie
Davis, Roy L.
*Day, Prof. A. E.
Day, Wilfred H.
Day, Gene (Mrs. Wilfred H.)
De Lambert, Gladys
Dennis, George H.
Dennison, Annie M.
Denniston, Martha D.
Derstine, William A.
Deter, Ezra S.
Detweiler, Joe H.
Detwiler, John J.
*Dewey, Dr. Albert W.
*Dewey, Diantha L.
*Dewey, Mrs. Seraphina
*Dillener, LeRoy Y.
Dingledine, Anne
Dissell, Ralph
Dixon, Margaret E. (now Mrs. Wendell W. Brown)
*Dodd, Dr. E. M.
*Dodd, Dr. William S.
*Dodd, Mrs. William S.
*Dodd, Dr. Wilson F.
*Dodge, President Bayard
†Dodge, Capt. Earl
Donovan, Helena F. (now Mrs. Francis Appelbee)
*Doolittle, George C.
*Dorman, Prof. H. G.
Dougherty, Minnie E.
*Douglas, Charles Arthur
Douglas, Edwin Malcolm
Downer, Kenneth A.
Downer, Lilla De Mar
Draper, Merle
*Dray, Dr. Arthur
Drummond, Anna C.
Dudley, Dr. Stowell
Duerr, Raymond
Duggan, Margaret A.
Dulles, Nataline
Dunaway, John A.
Dunbar, Christina M.
†Dunford, Major Rupert A.
Dunham, Chester F.
Dustan, Charlotte A. R.
*Dwight, Adelaide S.

Eash, Amos M.
Eastman, Evelyn
Eastman, Harry A.
Easton, Blanche S. (now Mrs. Joseph W. Beach)
Eckert, Elizabeth A.
Eckman, Elmer A.
Eddy, Ruth Margaret
Eddy, Sylvia T.
Edwards, Margaret W.
Edwards, Winifred (now Mrs. W. P. Pessell)
Elder, John
Elder, John D.
Eldred, Irene
Eldridge, Cora E.
Ellis, Clarence T.
*Elliott, Dr. Mabel E.

*Elmer, Theodore A.
*Elmer, Mrs. Theodore A.
*Emrich, Richard Stanley
*Emrich, Mrs. Richard S. (Jeanette W.)
*Erdman, Paul
*Erdman, Mrs. Paul
*Esselstyn, Lewis Fillmore
Evans, Dr. John H.
Evans, Lorena B. (Mrs. John H.)
Everett, Bernice J.
Evon, Agnes E.
Ewald, Rose

Farmer, Dora E.
Farnham, Charles V.
Farnsworth, Margaret
Farnsworth, Thomas W.
Farrington, Mabel (now Mrs. L. G. Hahn)
Feely, Ada
Fees, Ruby C. (now Mrs. R. C. McGibbon)
*Fenenga, Agnes
Ferguson, Robert L.
Feys, Marguerite (now Mrs. Edmund E. Hadley)
Field, Dr. Manning C.
Finn, Margaret A.
Fischer, Paul B.
Fischer, Mrs. Paul B.
Fisher, Prof. Edgar
Fisher, Faye
Flagg, Caleb B.
Fletcher, Katharine O.
*Fletcher, Mary R.
*Flint, Henry
Floyd, Pete O.
Flowers, Eunice
Flynn, Marcella K. (now Mrs. Rice)
Foley, Louis
Foley, Elizabeth M. (Mrs. Louis)
*Ford, G. A.
*Foreman, Lucile
Forsythe, Margaret E.
Fossum, Alma
Fossum, Dr. L. O.
Fothergill, E. F.
Fowle, Charles W.
*Fowle, Luther
*Fowle, Theodore W.
Fowle, Wilson F.
*Fowler, Arthur B.
Fox, Edward
Francis, Dorothy
Frank, Sadie A.
Frasher, George J.
*Frearson, Martha W.
Freeman, Francis P.
*Freidinger, W. A.
*Freidinger, Mrs. W. A.
Fremont-Smith, Dr. Maurice
French, F. Elma
Fridy, Thomas A.
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Men and women who had lived and worked in the Near East and who could interpret the conditions of 1915 to public gatherings, were enlisted as speakers. Later, other workers returned and were available for organizational meetings. When the Near East became accessible, members of various co-operating committees and tourists inspected the relief activities. Many of these interested friends gave generously of their time and interpreted the needs and accomplishments to sympathetic audiences.

Those speakers whose names and messages were familiar to friends of the work over large areas are recorded. In addition, there is the larger group of those in their own community, church or school, who told the story that stirred the benevolence of countless multitudes. The members of the staff who regularly spoke in the interest of the work are not included here.

The Trustees, some of whom have given liberally of their time as national speakers, fully understood the value of the spoken word as a method presenting the facts to the public and stimulating interest in the Near East, and greatly appreciate the services which the speakers, under the direction of the Committee, have rendered the work at home and overseas.

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A staff of workers, varying in number during the fifteen years, has represented the Committee, directing and stimulating the relief activities in this country. Many of the personnel served continuously for an extended period, as state and regional directors or national executive officers. Many others whose names are not individually recorded have interpreted the needs overseas to organizations and individuals at home. Intensive campaigns for relief funds required the temporary enlargement of the staff. Local committees frequently engaged local directors for special work. Hundreds of volunteer workers in every part of the country would expand the list into another volume.

The Trustees, appraising the value of the named and the unnamed service which has been rendered by personnel officially and unofficially on the staff, again record their appreciation and share with each individual the satisfaction of work well done.

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TRIBUTE OF GREECE TO AMERICA

The tribute which the Greek Government tendered to the memory and services of Christopher Thurber, who died in Athens May 31, 1930, while serving as director of the relief work in Greece, is a recognition of the human values in the relief work and an expression of spontaneous gratitude from the peoples of the Near East to the people of America. The story as told by one of his associates is recorded not only as a memorial to a beloved member of the overseas staff, but also as the expression of the abiding impression of fifteen years of international friendship and understanding.

SERVICES FOR CHRISTOPHER THURBER

The funeral services of our beloved Director, Mr. Thurber, were held on Monday, June the 2nd, at 10:00 A.M., in the big Cathedral. The service was conducted, for the Metropolitan, who was present, by the Bishop of the Church, attended by the Greek Metropolitan of Xanthe, the Armenian Archbishop and the Rev. Usher of the English Church.

As soon as the news of the death was made known on Saturday morning, May 31st, the members of the Greek Cabinet who were in town (the Premier and four Ministers were attending Centennial ceremonies in the different parts of the Country)—resolved at a hastily convened conference to confer upon Mr. Thurber the honors due to a Retired Greek General and to undertake the expenses of the funeral. The Government immediately ordered a telegram to be sent to the Near East Relief Committee in New York expressing the sympathy and regret of the State for the great loss.

On June the 1st, by special permission of the Archbishop of Athens, the bier rested in state in the little Church of Saint Eleutherios, a 6th century Byzantine Chapel close to the Cathedral, noted for its interesting sculptures and old icons and particularly cherished by our late Director. The tiny chapel was soon filled with flowers, wreaths and crowns offered by the innumerable friends of the deceased and doors had to remain open until late in the evening to allow an endless procession of children and adults, people from the refugee camps, students of the night schools and many others to render their last homage to the man in whom they have at all times found a ready protector.

The sudden death was the subject of conversation in many an Athenian circle. The press announced in terms of sympathy the loss of a "True

Philhellene," an "Inestimable Friend," a "Great Philanthropist." The Minister of Public Assistance, the Minister of Health, the Foreign Minister, the Mayor, the Chairman of the Senate Commission on Refugee Affairs and others holding the highest offices, hastened to express their sympathy either in person, or through their Secretaries direct to the office, which remained open on Saturday and Sunday to receive these expressions and acknowledgments. Many close friends called at the house, while acquaintances from other parts of Greece and the exterior cabled their condolences. The first people to send their condolences were the American Minister, the Honorable Robert P. Skinner and his wife.

Early in the morning of the 2nd of June the casket was taken from the little chapel to the Greek Cathedral, where it was banked with beautiful floral offerings. The larger wreaths and floral pieces bore wide silk bands with appropriate inscriptions, some of which are:

"The President of the Cabinet, on the part of the Hellenic Government."
"The Minister of Public Assistance, on the part of the Refugees of Greece."
"The Honorable and Mrs. Robert P. Skinner."
"The Executive Committee—to Christopher Thurber."
"The Ex-Orphans of the N. E. R., to their Saviour and Protector."

The list runs long and we are attaching a separate list, giving all the floral offerings for which we were able to locate the cards of the sender. They numbered over fifty and were a beautiful tribute to one to whom no tribute could be too high.

On top of the bier, as it rested in the Cathedral before and during the ceremony, a little sateen cushion was placed, upon which rested the Golden Cross of the Commander of the Saviour, and the silver medal of the Greek Red Cross.

The service was held in the Greek Byzantine ritual with certain omissions of dogmatic forms, which were not proper under the circumstances, and the responses were beautifully sung by the Metropolitan chorus. The service was conducted with a quiet, beautiful dignity and simplicity. There was a peacefulness and calm about it all, which was significant and which all those who were close to Mr. Thurber, knew would be his fondest wish. It is unfortunate that we, Americans, who were present, could not understand the scripture readings, the responses by the choir and the remarks made by the Minister of Public Assistance, Mr. Emmanuelides, which we have sent to you, those by Dr. Alivizatos, which we will send as soon as it is possible, and those by the Armenian Archbishop. The service was short, beautiful, and was attended by a throng which included many notables, his old people, the ex-orphans and other youths of the community, whose lives he had touched, and the orphan children themselves.

The bier was surrounded by a guard of honor, formed by the Near East Relief boy-scouts. Both the Cathedral and the Platia were quietly and efficiently policed under the direction of Mr. Boobyer, who was also there as a personal friend of Mr. Thurber. The Cathedral was unable to contain all those who came to witness the service and to pay homage.

Among the large number of notables who attended were
The Archbishop
The Armenian Bishop
The Secretary to the President of the Republic
Under-Secretary of State Papadatos
The Minister of Public Assistance, Mr. Emmanuelides
The Minister of Health, Dr. Pappas
The Honorable and Mrs. Robert P. Skinner
The Consul General, Mr. Leland B. Morris
Mr. Boobyer, of the City Police
General Plastiras
The Chairman of the Board of Alderman of the City of Athens
Dr. Doxiades, President of the Patriotic League
Dr. Athanassakis, President of the Red Cross
Miss Messolora, Director Red Cross Nurses Training School
Mr. Benachi, Boy-Scouts Master General
Mr. Patsis, former Mayor of Athens
Mr. P. Calligas, President, Agricultural Association
Mrs. Georganta, President National Council of Women
Mme. Paspati, Chairman Federation of Women's Associations
Prof. Alivizatos, of Athens University
Mr. Symeonoglou, Deputy of Piraeus
Mr. Hadjikyriaco, Senator, President of Sivitanides School
Mr. A. Kyriakides, Attorney, President Athens Barristers Assoc.
and many representatives of Greek, Armenian and Russian Organizations.

As the service ended, the procession was formed, the casket being carried by the instructors from Athens College, in whom Mr. Thurber found a refuge from the strain of his tasks, and by the personnel of the office, all of whom hold a very deep and sincere appreciation of Mr. Thurber and his work. The procession was formed in this order:

Floral Pieces
Squad of City Police
Athens Garrison Band
Near East Relief Orphans Band
Representative Groups of Working Girls, Working Boys, Student Ex-Orphans, Outplaced Girls, Night School Students, Nurses, Syra Orphans
Costal Papadopoulos, Student, carrying the Cushion with Decorations
NER Boy-Scouts as Escort of the Casket
Casket with a Priest
Near East Relief American and Local Personnel and other Friends
Boy-Scouts
Squad of City Police
Double line of Motor Cars taking Officials, Notables, and Aged Devotees to the Cemetery

The procession walked through Hermes Street to Constitution Square, where the casket was placed in a hearse and then proceeded down Amalias Avenue, Syngros Boulevard, into Repose Avenue and the Greek Cemetery.

The final resting place is in the Protestant Cemetery very near where the late Mr. Hoagland lies.

A big crowd gathered there for the last rites. All the officials and other notables, countless children and youths and his beloved and needy old people were present. A short service was conducted by the priests, immediately after which a brief address was given by the Under-Secretary of State, who saluted Mr. Thurber in these terms:

> "I am charged by the President of the Hellenic Government to thank thee, Christopher Thurber, for the high service thou hast rendered to Hellas, and to assure thee that thy name shall be uttered with the greatest reverence by many generations to come: I present thee with this wreath of flowers from the violet-crowned city of Athena: may its earth receive thee with the same love and affection as its citizens have accorded thee when thou wast among them. Christopher Thurber, Farewell."

From a short distance the Syra girls' choir softly chanted a Greek hymn during this service and as the casket was lowered. The unrestrainable grief of countless people was more than one could bear.

Mr. Scurso describes the last: "a dazzling sun cast its burning rays from a gloriously blue sky into the depth which was receiving a beloved one from among us; a few movements and the earth of the Athenian soil separated him for ever from the living ones: Christopher Thurber was no more."

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